

**52**

1 – 30 Sept 1959

Second Series

# Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

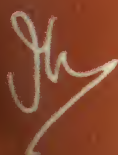
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Nehru**



WITH THE DALAI LAMA, NEW DELHI, 2 SEPTEMBER 1959

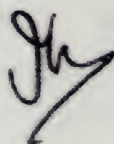
# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

*SECOND SERIES*

Volume Fifty Two (1 – 30 September 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



**Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund**  
New Delhi



# CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	xiii
<i>Editorial Note</i>	xv
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xvii

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

## I. GENERAL

### (a) Press Conference

1.	Press Conference—I	11/9	1
2.	Talk with Pressmen	22/9	26

### (b) Interviews with Ram Narayan Chaudhary

3.	Interview—I	8/9	29
4.	Interview—II	9/9	40

## II. POLITICS

### (a) Indian National Congress

5.	To H.C. Heda: Proposed Visit to UK	13/9	51
6.	To Partap Singh Kairon: "Heavy Expenditure" on Party Meetings	22/9	52
7.	To Morarji Desai: AICC Meeting and Foreign Visits	30/9	52

### (b) Speeches at the AICC

8.	Communist Violence, Planning, Growth	26/9	55
9.	Significance of Planning	27/9	59
10.	No Dictatorship	27/9	64



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
11.	Public Sector and Growth	28/9	65
12.	Aggressive China	28/9	72
13.	Press in the Private Sector	28/9	74
14.	Bhakra Dam Safe and Sound	28/9	74

(c) States

(i) Bombay

15.	To Sri Prakasa: Consultation on Bilingual State	3/9	76
16.	To Sri Prakasa: Parsis not Neglected in Consultations	30/9	78

(ii) Delhi

17.	To Shiv Charan: Midday Meals to Schoolchildren in Delhi	9/9	78
-----	---	-----	----

(iii) Kerala

18.	To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Dealing with the Muslim League	12/9	79
-----	---	------	----

(iv) North East

19.	To Rungsung Suisa: Naga Areas under the Central Government	17/9	81
20.	To P.C. Borooah: Interests of Assam not "Ignored"	29/9	81
21.	To S.M. Shrinagesh: Governor of Assam	30/9	82

(v) Punjab

22.	To V.N. Gadgil: Slocum and the Bhakra Dam	4/9	83
23.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Rarewala's Tubewell Sale	24/9	85
24.	To Partap Singh Kairon: Paying Off Old Debts	27/9	85
25.	To Asoke K. Sen: Rarewala's Misdemeanours	29/9	86
26.	To Gian Singh Rarewala: Tube Well Issue	29/9	87

(vi) Rajasthan

27.	To Jai Narain Vyas: Accounting for Public Funds	29/9	88
-----	---	------	----



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
(vii) Uttar Pradesh			
28.	To Sampurnanand: Charges against Kamlapati Tripathi	27/9	88
29.	To Sampurnanand: Dacoities in Meerut	30/9	89
(viii) West Bengal			
30.	In the Lok Sabha: Firing in Bengal	4/9	90
31.	To S. Dutt: Mongolian Prime Minister's Visit	4/9	96
(d) Goa			
32.	In the Rajya Sabha: Goans in India	3/9	96
33.	To S. Dutt: Goan Political Convention	29/9	99
(e) Sikkim			
34.	To S. Dutt: Indira Gandhi's Statement Distorted	29/9	100
(f) Administration			
35.	To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Thimayya's Resignation	2/9	100
36.	In the Lok Sabha: Thimayya's Resignation	2/9	102
37.	In the Lok Sabha: Border Security	3/9	111
38.	To J.B. Kripalani: Thimayya's Resignation	5/9	112
39.	To U.C. Patnaik: Promotions in Defence Services	13/9	114
40.	To D.P. Singh: Objecting to "Undesirable" Speeches	13/9	115
41.	To Vishnu Sahay: Appointment of Additional Secretaries	23/9	115
42.	To Vishnu Sahay: Portuguese Case	24/9	116
43.	To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Withdrawal of Habibullah	29/9	119
44.	To O. Pulla Reddi: Production Schemes in Defence	30/9	120
(g) Social Groups			
45.	To Bhakt Darshan: Tibetan Refugees in Uttar Pradesh	6/9	120

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
------------	-------------	-------------	-------------

### (h) Language

46.	In the Lok Sabha: English, Hindi, and Artificiality	4/9	121
-----	---	-----	-----

### (i) Judiciary

47.	To G.B. Pant: Removing a Judge	22/9	134
-----	--------------------------------	------	-----

### (j) Media

48.	To B.V. Keskar: CBS Film on Population Growth	24/9	135
-----	---	------	-----

## III. DEVELOPMENT

### (a) Economy

49.	To H.C. Heda: Cooperatives in Bihar	9/9	136
50.	To S.K. Dey: Only One Job at a Time	11/9	136
51.	To DAV College, Ambala: Planning Forums in Colleges	16/9	137

### (b) Food, Agriculture and Irrigation

52.	To B.C. Roy: Chief Ministers to Take Food Portfolio	4/9	138
53.	To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Export Aggressively	6/9	139
54.	To CPP: Food Production	8/9	141
55.	To S.K. Patil: Improving the Rice Crop	11/9	143
56.	To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Haldane's Article on Diving	11/9	144
57.	To Jagjivan Ram: Scheme of Thalís "Wasteful"	29/9	144

### (c) Industry and Labour

58.	To MEA: Oil Refinery in India	12/9	145
-----	-------------------------------	------	-----

### (d) Education

59.	To P.T. Borale: Commemorating Persons	3/9	146
60.	To Bernard L. Montgomery: Books on Gandhi and Nehru	9/9	146

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
61.	To Ram Narayan Chaudhary: A Title for his Book	12/9	147
62.	To Gandhigram: Message	29/9	148
63.	Birthday	30/9	148

#### (e) Culture

64.	To Humayun Kabir: A Copy of the Quran for the Shah	12/9	149
65.	To S. Radhakrishnan: Rabindra Sadan and Visva-Bharati	12/9	149

#### (f) Health

66.	To Asoke K. Sen: Amendments to the Patents Act	6/9	150
67.	To D.P. Karmarkar: Officials, not Ministers for Television	8/9	151
68.	To K. Ram: Enovid Drug	12/9	151
69.	To K. C. Reddy: Balancing the Prices and Profits of Drugs	27/9	152
70.	To Vishnu Sahay: Who Should Deal with Child Welfare?	30/9	153

#### (g) Science and Technology

71.	To K. D. Malaviya: Oil Exploration	8/9	153
72.	In the Rajya Sabha: Oil Exploration	8/9	154
73.	In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Power Stations	9/9	154
74.	In the Lok Sabha: Oil Exploration	9/9	157
75.	To Khrushchev: Congratulations on Space Research	16/9	159
76.	To H.J. Bhabha: Talks with the US Atomic Commission	22/9	159
77.	To Cyrus S. Eaton: Pugwash Conference	30/9	160

#### (h) Town Planning

78.	To B.C. Roy: Cheap Housing	8/9	161
-----	----------------------------	-----	-----

### IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

#### (a) Pakistan

79.	In the Lok Sabha: India-Pakistan Talks	4/9	162
-----	--	-----	-----



<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
80.	To M.J. Desai: Bad Press in Pakistan	23/9	164

### (b) China

81.	In the Rajya Sabha: China at Sikkim Border and in Ladakh	4/9	166
82.	To V.R. Krishna Iyer: China Visit	6/9	170
83.	To MPs: Border Disputes	7/9	170
84.	In the Lok Sabha: <i>The White Paper</i>	7/9	171
85.	In the Lok Sabha: Indians Arrested by Chinese Forces	7/9	175
86.	To Sampurnanand: Don't be Alarmist	9/9	179
87.	To K. Ram: Aksai Chin	10/9	180
88.	To D.D. Kosambi: NEFA Border	10/9	180
89.	In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations	10/9	181
90.	In the Lok Sabha: <i>The White Paper</i>	12/9	196
91.	To MEA: India-China Border Controversy	13/9	211
92.	To D.D. Kosambi: Border Demarcation	23/9	214
93.	To S. Dutt: India-China Boundary	24/9	214
94.	To Chou En-lai	26/9	216
95.	To U Nu: Border Troubles with China	29/9	231
96.	To Chou En-lai: National Celebrations	30/9	234

### (c) Tibet

97.	In the Lok Sabha: Referring Tibet to the UN	4/9	235
98.	In the Rajya Sabha: Disabled Tibetan Refugees	8/9	247
99.	To K. Ram: Rest House for Tibetan Refugees	12/9	247
100.	To M.C. Setalvad: International Committee on Tibet	24/9	248

### (d) Nepal

101.	To Raja Mahendra Pratap: Indian Personnel at Nepalese Borders	11/9	249
------	--	------	-----

### (e) Bhutan

102.	To S. Dutt: Bhutanese Refugees in India	29/9	250
103.	To Jigme Dorji Wangchuk: Development Projects and Foreign Policy	29/9	250

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
104.	To Jigme Palden Dorji: Foreign Relations of Bhutan	29/9	252

**(f) Laos**

105.	To Defence Ministry: Visit of Indian Navy Vessel to Laos	8/9	256
106.	To Pham Van Dong: Ending Conflict	11/9	256
107.	To Pham Van Dong: Ending Conflict	29/9	257

**(g) Afghanistan and Iran Tour**

108.	In Kabul: Science and Human Development	14/9	257
109.	In Kabul: Ancient Heritage of Indo-Afghanistan	16/9	262
110.	In Kabul: Indo-Afghan Joint Statement	18/9	264
111.	In Tehran: Industrial Revolution and Challenges of the Nuclear Age	18/9	266
112.	In Tehran: Cultural Contacts with Iran Revisited	19/9	268
113.	At Tehran University: Science and Technology	20/9	269
114.	To the Indo-Iranian Association: Balancing Continuity and Change	21/9	281
115.	To Iranian Journalists: Indian Foreign Policy	22/9	285
116.	To Edwina Mountbatten: Visits to Afghanistan and Iran	23/9	288

**(h) USA**

117.	To Leonard Cheshire: PL 480 Funds Not Available	3/9	291
118.	To Eisenhower: Germany, China, Negotiations	13/9	291
119.	To Krishna Menon: Tibet in the UN	29/9	293

**(i) UK**

120.	To K.M. Panikkar: Fund for Indo-British Cultural Relations	2/9	294
121.	In the Rajya Sabha: "Racial Discrimination of Indians in UK"	8/9	295

**(j) USSR**

122.	To MEA: Soviet Warning about Iran	12/9	297
------	-----------------------------------	------	-----

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
123.	To MEA: Soviet Technical Training Centre for India	12/9	299
124.	To Krishna Menon: Eisenhower-Khrushchev Talks	13/9	299

### (k) Other Countries

125.	For Mongolian Prime Minister: Banquet Speech	10/9	299
126.	To Bandaranaike: Assassination Attempt on Bandaranaike	25/9	302

## V. APPENDICES

1.	Pham Van Dong to Nehru	8/8	303
2.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China to G. Parthasarathi	1/9	304
3.	L. Zutshi to Nehru	5/9	307
4.	Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru	7/9	308
5.	Chou En-lai to Nehru	8/9	309
6.	Sampurnanand to Nehru	8/9	316
7.	J.B.S. Haldane's Note on the Bhakra Dam Tunnel	11/9	318
8.	Krishna Menon to Nehru	13/9	321
9.	Homi Bhabha to Nehru	19/9	323
10.	Krishna Menon to Nehru	27/9	324
11.	Krishna Menon to Nehru	27/9	328
12.	S.M. Shrinagesh to Nehru	29/9	329

<i>Glossary</i>	331
-----------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	335
--------------	-----

<i>Political Map of India</i>	
-------------------------------	--



## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

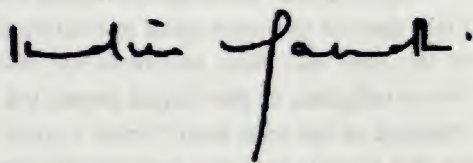
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with September 1959, just after the government of Kerala had been dismissed. But the focus of attention has already shifted to matters like the resignation of K. S. Thimayya, the Chief of Army Staff, Ayub Khan's visit, and above all, relations with China. Nehru tabled in Parliament another volume of the *White Paper* of correspondence between India and China amid anxious debates in Parliament about Chinese misdeeds at various points along the border.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from *White Paper II* of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all M. Christhu Doss, helped by Geeta Kudaisya and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Neelabh, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page</i>
With the Dalai Lama, New Delhi	2/9	frontispiece

### *Cartoons*

Disengagement	13/9	6
Morarji has gone Abroad...	13/9	54
"Our Very Best"	13/9	60
You Said It	28/9	66
You Said It	1/10	70
You Said It	6/10	75
The Age of Chivalry Not Over	6/9	77
Lion's Share	8/11	80
Slocum Wants Supreme Power...	6/9	84
Thimayya has Withdrawn Resignation...	6/9	101
You Said It	12/9	126
You Said It	13/10	140
"Good For You"	13/9	142
The Himalayan Stunt	20/9	188
Dalai Lama was Advised not to Indulge in Politics...	20/9	195
The Cartographer	20/9	221







## **I. GENERAL**

### **(a) Press Conference**

#### **1. Press Conference—I<sup>1</sup>**

Prime Minister: Well, let us begin.

Reporter: Sir, before we start this press conference, let me say, a very dear friend of ours and a great journalist Mr. Rajamani died last week.<sup>2</sup> Well, may I request you & all the press correspondents here to stand for a minute?

Prime Minister: Will you tell us something about Mr. Rajamani. Where was he working?

Reporter: P.T.I.

Prime Minister: He died suddenly or was he ill?

Reporter: He died suddenly in an accident.

Prime Minister: Accident! What kind of accident?

Reporter: He fell down....

Prime Minister: Well, if you like, we can get up for a few seconds.

Subjects suggested for discussion:

Bifurcation of Bombay State

India-China relations

Laos

Indo-Pakistan relations

Jamming of Indian news broadcasts by China.

Prime Minister: What am I to say about it? I don't know much about it. Well, I have no information, there might have been, I have no precise information. I

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

2. N. Rajamani, a special correspondent of the PTI, died on 5 September 1959 according to *The Tribune* of 6 September.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

am told by Mr. Ramadhyani (Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting) that he has no authentic information about it. In fact, he is inclined to think that there is no jamming. There might have been sometimes. Nobody can say. But there is no regular jamming.

Reporter: Central Social Welfare Board.

Prime Minister: What am I to say about it?

Reporter: P.E.O. Report and their authoritative investigation.

Reporter: Possibility of President Eisenhower coming to India.

Reporter: Recent crisis in the Defence Ministry.

### Bifurcation of Bombay in the Making<sup>3</sup>

Prime Minister: So, we might begin, Bombay. Well, I was telling you what exactly happened in recent weeks. It was given a somewhat coloured and exaggerated account in the Press.<sup>4</sup> Actually, in the normal course we had intended discussing this matter in all its aspects and clearing our own minds and, in so far as we can, other people's minds. We really intended doing this some months back, beginning of this year or I forget when. When I say "we", well, it is principally myself and maybe two or three others of my colleagues. I wanted to have a talk with the Chief Minister of Bombay, Mr. Chavan, and discuss this matter to clear my mind, as I said. Unfortunately, Mr. Chavan fell ill, had an

3. When the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission was published on 30 September 1955, there were riots in Bombay city and elsewhere. Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti was formed in January 1956 by Congressmen (not officially by the Party), the PSP and the CPI to oppose the division of Bombay State. On the other hand, the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, with Indulal K. Yajnik as President, demanded a Gujarat State composed of Gujarati-speaking areas and Bombay City. See SWJN/SS/37/pp. 114-118 and pp. 322-323; SWJN/SS/44/p. 253 and SWJN/SS/48/p. 282.

4. Perhaps referring to *The Times of India* report of 27 August on inner Congress discussions and adding: "According to informed lobby quarters, steps will be taken well in time to bifurcate Bombay State into Maharashtra and Gujarati speaking areas by December this year. Bombay city will be the capital of Maharashtra while Ahmedabad will be the capital of Gujarat. A short Bill for this purpose may be brought before the winter session begins in November."



operation and was for a long time in hospital. When he came out, again I thought of this. When he came here, I met him with two others of my colleagues, the Home Minister Pantji and Mr. Morarji Desai and we had a friendly talk, quite informal.<sup>5</sup> It was really an exploration of the issue as it was. As all that happened, there were big headlines in the Press a day or two later, as if we had come to big decisions and all that. As a matter of fact, as I said, it was entirely a personal friendly talk; it was certainly not, one might say, on the official governmental level, it was not even on the official Congress level, but naturally, we being connected with both, this kind of thing came. This subject, apparently being opened partly by press comments etc., there might be discussions. So, at the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee the President was asked to find out the reactions of the leaders of the regional committees of that area as well as others.<sup>6</sup> In other words, we are in an exploratory stage. Then, the next question is, yes!

Question: Now, there are rumours afloat that a decision is likely to be announced at the A.I.C.C. session at Chandigarh.<sup>7</sup> Are things so advanced to that stage?

Prime Minister: Well, I should be mightily surprised; I can't say; I should be greatly surprised if that was done, because the one thing we particularly want to avoid is taking any kind of a decision in a hurry and without the fullest consultation. We are entirely opposed to a decision being taken at the top and suddenly imposed on the people concerned. So, presumably, there will be many opportunities of consultation etc., before any decision can be taken.

Question: Is it proposed to consult non-Congress opposition leaders?

Prime Minister: I can't say; but when I say "fullest consultation" that naturally includes people who may not be in the Congress. In what form and how, I cannot say. That is to say, there are many people who are not, let us say, even in politics, not so much a question of Opposition, because political parties have

5. On 22-23 August 1959.

6. Following widespread rioting, Indira Gandhi, the President of the AICC, appointed a committee in September 1959 to re-examine the question of the bifurcation of Bombay State into its Gujarati and Marathi-speaking areas. On the basis of its recommendations, endorsed by the Congress Working Committee on 4 December 1959, Parliament created the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat in May 1960.

7. On 26-28 September 1959.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

views, fixed views, they may be consulted when necessity arises, certainly, but others too who are not in politics and others; but everybody is interested. That is, if any decision is to be taken, it should have the largest basis of consultation and approval as possible.

Question: Sir, are we to take it that the bilingual experiment has failed?

Prime Minister: I think it has been a remarkable success.

Question: Then where is the necessity for a change?

Prime Minister: I do not know; but that is to say, if you think, as I have often said, I think the State of Bombay is one of the two States which are best administered in India. So in that sense, it is a success.

Question: Which is the other one?

Prime Minister: Madras.

Question: Mr. Chavan is reported to have said that whatever might be the administrative success of Bombay, in the process of the political integration of Bombay, the bilingual State, it has not been a success, it has been a failure.

Prime Minister: Well, it may be his view. That is a matter which is not so much concerned with success and failure of a State but of, well, people's psychologies and all that. That is exactly why we wanted to consider all aspects of it. Otherwise why should we consider it?

Question: In this process of the review of the States' reorganisation, have you the case of Madhya Pradesh in mind which is both emotionally and administratively very bad?

Prime Minister: No! that is not in our minds at all.

Question: Is it not a fact that both emotionally and administratively it is in a very bad shape?

Prime Minister: Well, I can hardly discuss these aspects of Madhya Pradesh. But I can tell you that we have absolutely nothing in mind about reshaping



Madhya Pradesh.

### India-China Relation

Prime Minister: We will go on to the India-China issue. There is not really very much for me to say, unless you want to ask me a question, because I spoke about it yesterday and I am likely to speak tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.<sup>8</sup>

Question: Could you tell us where the very definitive map of the MacMahon Line is that was attached to this similar convention, and who initialled it?

Prime Minister: We have got maps in our Ministry; I don't know where else they are, maybe elsewhere too. I cannot at the moment say who initialled it; but we have got notes attached to it, explanatory notes by MacMahon and by others who worked with him, and there specific points are mentioned often, this place is on this side of the line or that side of the line. You see, the broad approach was, I think, to get at the water-shed and make that the dividing line—waters flowing towards India, waters flowing towards Tibet. In one or two places some minor changes were suggested, then or later, I forgot, for practical reasons. For instance, there was a Buddhist temple which was slightly on this side, India's side, but which was greatly valued by the Tibetans, so it was put on that side. I think this was not MacMahon, it was subsequently agreed.

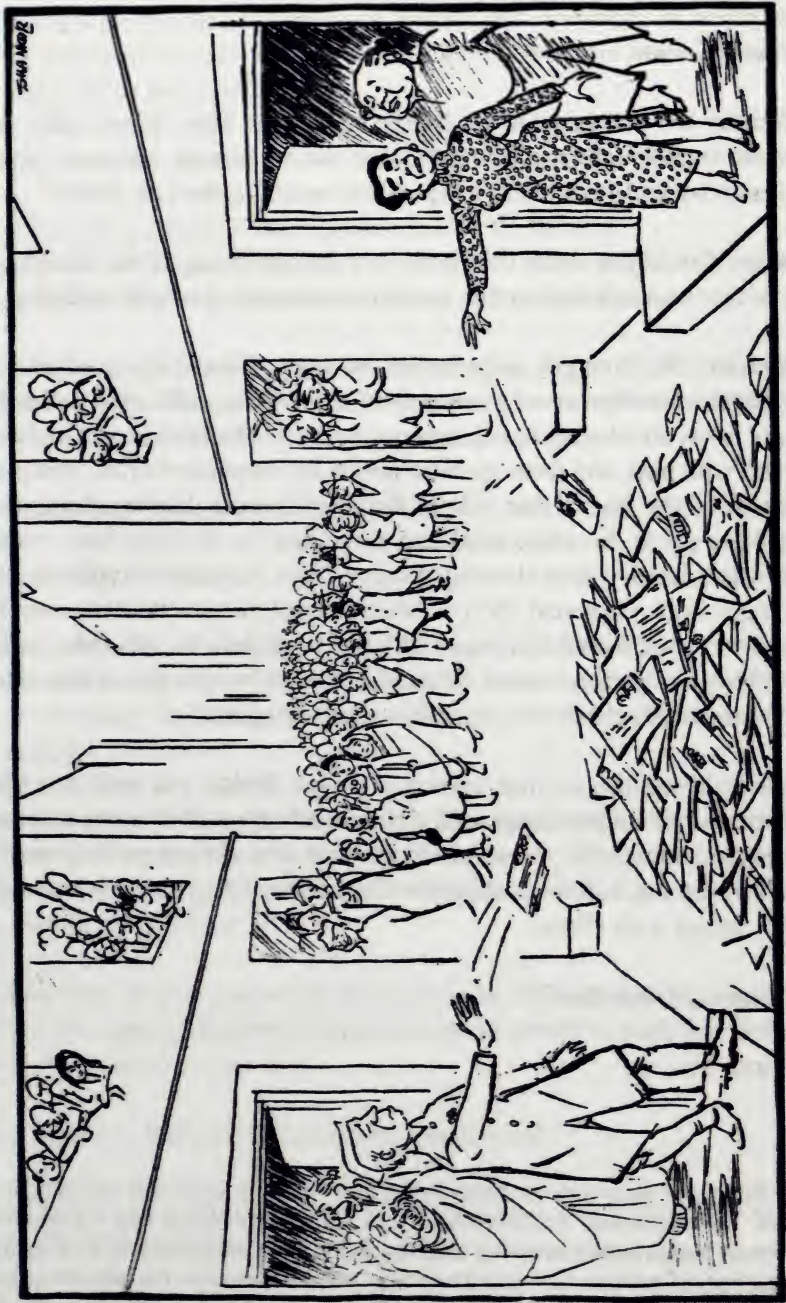
Question: Yesterday, in your speech in Rajya Sabha, you said that Chou had repeated thrice his acceptance of the MacMahon Line in the course of his conversations with you in 1956, and that you did not entirely rely on your memory but had those things written down. Did you exchange those written things with Chou?

Prime Minister: At that time?

Question: Yes, sir.

8. On 10 September he said in the Rajya Sabha that "We have to be firm and hold to our position" and added that the Government was vigilant and would take the necessary measures to protect India's territorial integrity. In his Lok Sabha speech of 12 September he stated that the problem now posed by China was not a mere border adjustment but a serious threat "from a powerful nation which is aggressive and which is showing its pride and arrogance of might." Also see items 89-90 in this volume.

DISENGAGEMENT



*The correspondence with China on the border issue has been published.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



Prime Minister: No. It was subsequently, long afterwards, I did send him an extract from that, as appears in fact, in the *White Paper*.<sup>9</sup> I did not at that time send it to him.

Question: When was that extract sent to him?

Prime Minister: It is given in the *White Paper*, in one of my letters.

Question: Were the minutes of the talks confirmed by Chou En-lai?

Prime Minister: No; I am telling you that I did not send him the minute. The minute I wrote was for record in our own Ministry and for our Ambassador etc., in Peking to be informed of it; but it was not sent to Mr. Chou En-lai.

Question: Even now, I don't think Mr. Chou En-lai has specifically repudiated that talk.

Prime Minister: No; that is true.

Question: Mr. Chou En-lai in his letter has referred to telegram sent by the Tibetan Administration in 1947.<sup>10</sup> Have you got this or have studied this telegram or is it just...?

Prime Minister: I had not seen it recently; but I have a vague recollection and in examining Mr. Chou En-lai's letter, we will try to find these things out. But I have a vague recollection that a telegram did come to us at the time we were becoming independent. As far as I remember, at any rate, the impression created in my mind was not about any major change there but about some petty areas in dispute on the border. There had been disputes before; but I would not like to answer it because I have not referred to it again and this is an old impression—when we were very busy with independence and all the change-over.

9. On 7 September 1959, the first *White Paper* containing notes, memoranda, letters exchanged and agreements of China and India was tabled in the Lok Sabha by Nehru. See, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n.p., n.d) [New Delhi, 1959]. See also item 84 in this volume.
10. See *White Paper II*, p. 59.

Question: Yesterday you made an offer of neutralisation with China over Longju. What will be the position if the Chinese refuse to quit Longju? What will India do if they refuse to evacuate?

Prime Minister: As a matter of fact, I believe, the Chinese say that they are not actually in possession of Longju, they may be round about it but not. The distances are very small. According to us, Longju is just on this side of the border. It is marked so in the map we have and fact of position and a little way round about there, presumably, are Chinese forces; a little to the south of that are some small Indian detachments on our side, they are pretty small. We shall have to see how developments take place, but obviously we want to avoid show of force to push this or that, because one thing acts and reacts. This has been the first time, at Longju, that this firing took place between Chinese and Indian detachments.<sup>11</sup>

Question: Could you kindly throw some light as to what specifically was the Indo-Tibetan border before the 1914 treaty? That is, did the MacMahon Line, by and large, confirm a traditional border?

Prime Minister: Well, the idea was that it should confirm some kind of a border, it was not strictly delimited or marked of course. But, and as you know, it is mostly in areas where no human beings dwell; may be very occasional a very small village somewhere; but broadly speaking, no people live there; or, if people use it, they use it in summer for grazing purposes, retiring in winter. So, there was no urgent need for anyone to define it accurately, neither for the Tibetans nor on this side. But I could not answer your question very precisely.

Question: Is Longju a city or a village? What is the population of this place?

11. *The Tribune* of 29 August quoted Nehru as saying in the Lok Sabha on 28 August that: "a 200 to 300 strong detachment of Chinese forces crossed into the Indian territory in the NEFA area and opened fire at Migyitun-Longju on 25 and 26 August in the Subansari Division of NEFA and Longju was encircled by Chinese forces." Also see SWJN/SS/51/item 197.



Prime Minister: I suppose it is a very small village with a few huts.<sup>12</sup>

Question: In the light of your statement yesterday in the Rajya Sabha, that Premier Chou En-lai's recent letter has shaken confidence in the assurances and words of either side and the presence of large Chinese forces in Tibet, do you envisage any large-scale change in our defence expenditure vis-à-vis our future planning?<sup>13</sup>

Prime Minister: No, I do not and I hope not.

Question: Listening to your speech yesterday, one got the impression that you were trying to make a fundamental difference between Soviet communism and Chinese communism. Will that impression be correct?

Prime Minister: I thought I did not refer to either. I do not think, as far as I remember, that I used the word "communism" in the whole course of my speech.

Question: But there was some reference to it.

Prime Minister: I said nothing about communism. And I do not think communism has much to do with it.

Question: Yesterday you said something that these things may be happening because of some internal changes in China. But you did not elaborate on it. Can you say what are internal changes, the attitude of China because of internal changes there? You did not elaborate on it.

12. Nehru's reference to a "few huts" is perhaps derived from reports by Indian officials who inspected the area in 1957 and gave the precise figure of a "five house settlement of Longju." The reports were by U. Chakma, *Tour Diary and tour note of Shri U. Chakma, IFAS, Political Officer, Darporijo. (Siang F. Divn.)* File R 34/61 [45/61] and by L. R. Sailo, *Reports and Tour Diary on an Exploratory Tour Undertaken in the Upper Subansiri Area and the Tsari Chu Valley during January-March, 1957 (Secret)*, File 47/57, both from the Arunachal Pradesh State Archives, Itanagar. These are cited in the following publication: Toni Huber, "Relating to Tibet: Narratives of Origin & Migration Among Highlanders of the Far Eastern Himalayas," in *Tibetan Studies. An Anthology*, edited by Saadet Arslan and Peter Schwieger (Halle: International Institute of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2010, pp. 297-335, here pp. 310-311, 329, 331).
13. Chou En-lai wrote a letter to Nehru on 8 September 1959. See Appendix 5, pp. 308-315.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister: Are you referring to that minor event that happened ten years ago, the Chinese Revolution, or what?

Question: You were saying yesterday that gradual change, gradual step by step change in the Chinese attitude & Chou En-lai's attitude.

Question: Because some internal changes in China, it may be due to that.

Prime Minister: No, no—That was only a remark. Various factors have produced certain results, and one, I actually said, was, maybe, what has happened in Tibet and our reaction to it. I said that this has angered them and irritated them, and there may be other factors too.

Question: Sir, Longju refers to any possible conflict of views in the leadership of China?

Prime Minister: How do I know about the view? You are always talking, at least many of you, about the conflict of views in the leadership of India. So, what I shall do?

Question: In the Lok Sabha, the other day, you said that though you do not expect a war with China, one must be prepared for any eventuality. Well, in case of war, shall India seek allies in the large world, if there is a full-scale attack from China?

Prime Minister: That is a very interesting question and I should like you, for your own benefit, just to think it, think and answer out yourself. It is interesting because I just don't see what I can do about it. Just don't think vaguely; think precisely and think a little definitely and precisely. It is one thing to have friendship of countries, it is another thing to have military alliances and the like. One does not know, if the whole world is at war what might happen. That is a different matter. But this vague thinking if searching for allies is a sign of utter weakness of character in an individual and in a nation. I hope our country will not suffer that weakness of character.

Question: As a result of this Khampa revolt in Tibet, there have been many more violations of the NEFA border and pressure on NEFA than you were pleased to disclose. Is it not true?

Prime Minister: Is that an indirect reflection on my integrity, or what?



Question: Probably, you might not have sent diplomatic notes about those because they may have been of a minor nature.

Prime Minister: No; I do not think that is a correct statement. I think that we have in recent weeks disclosed this. I can't obviously say with certainty that there has been no straying of some personnel across the border. I believe there has, once or twice, but not exactly military personnel, not that. Because in some areas, there is no demarcation. A survey party or somebody comes across, and once or twice they came across, they have told us, into the Indian territory and they went back. So that is not, that might happen anywhere. But I do not think that we have kept secret any marked incursion across the border.

Question: In your Rajya Sabha speech, you referred to the letter (of Mr Chou En-lai) in somewhat grave terms and indicated that a grave situation had arisen.<sup>14</sup> Would that mean that you would be able to undertake your visit to these two countries (Afghanistan and Iran) in the next few days, or stay back?

Prime Minister: I am certainly going to Kabul and Tehran in three days' time.<sup>15</sup> What has that got to do with it? This is taking an extraordinary alarmist view. When I referred to the letter in some, call it serious, it was not because I expected some remarkable development quickly or even later, but that the letter showed a certain hardening of attitude. And it is always a serious thing when in a controversy any country digs its toes in. Then it becomes a question of prestige, how to undig or pull out your toes. In that sense, I said, it is a serious matter, but I do not expect at all any sudden development which would lead to any kind of conflict, even a small one.

Question: Is it in pursuance of this belief that you are not issuing any weapons of offence to our Indian troops?

Prime Minister: What do you think, they go about with bows and arrows?

14. Nehru said that he was "completely overwhelmed" by the latest note, in part owing to Chou En-lai's "repudiation" of MacMahon Line and in part to his declaration that "the Chinese Government affirms that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited." See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.
15. He was in Afghanistan from 14 to 18 September and in Tehran from 18 to 22 September 1959. For details of his tour, see items 108-115.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Press Correspondent: There is a lot of difference between weapons of defence and weapons of offence.

Prime Minister: Well, you are an expert at it! What shall I say?

Question: What is your attitude towards this controversy—yesterday's speech by the Communist spokesmen?

Prime Minister: The Communist Party of India! There is no question of assessment. Anybody can make his assessment. One felt that they were in an embarrassing position. That is the main assessment.<sup>16</sup>

May I say one thing that it is really worth your attention, the statement that was issued by the TASS agency yesterday, presumably representing the Soviet Government's view.<sup>17</sup> Considering everything, it was a very fair statement, and an unusual statement for the Soviet Government to sponsor, sponsor I said.

Question: Sir, may I invite your attention to your statement in the Lok Sabha about wrong Chinese maps showing Tibetan border. And then the maps, we have been representing to them, they did not clarify. Now Mr. Chou asserts his maps are right. Does it not show an attitude of imperialism on the part of China?

Prime Minister: This is an argument.

Question: Complete your answer on the comment of the Soviet press agency.

Prime Minister: Yes, I mean to say, I appreciate it very much.

Question: In your speech yesterday you mentioned that, as you said, many things had happened in China because of the change of policy. Were you referring to the Tibet part only or were you referring to things inside China itself?

16. The CPI wanted India to take the initiative to negotiate with China.

17. *The Times of India* of 11 September quoted *Telegrafnoe Agentsvo Sovetskogo Soiuza* (TASS) of 9 September 1959 as reporting that "China and India to settle their differences without attempting to apportion responsibility for the deterioration in their relations. The incident on the Chinese-Indian frontier is certainly deplorable. Attempts to cash in on the incident for the purpose of fanning 'cold war' and crippling friendship between the peoples is worthy of resolute condemnation."

Prime Minister: I cannot tell you what I had in my mind at that time. But I should imagine all these things inside also were somewhere at the back of my mind.

Now, should we go on to the next?

Question: Sir, one more. Your reference to the TASS statement, which reminds me of your statement in the Lok Sabha and elsewhere that you would welcome mediation by parties acceptable to both China and India in respect of these disputes or incursions whatever they might be called. Since some of those possible mediators have already accepted and published officially the maps as in *China Pictorial* and others, would it be possible for this country to envisage mediation by countries which may be slightly different, say some of the Bandung countries.<sup>18</sup>

Prime Minister: When I talked about mediation, conciliation etc., I was thinking about a number of small border disputes. Some of them are old disputes going back to the days when the British Government functioned here, small disputes about two miles there, three miles here, a village here, a meadow there. They had no great importance in those days because neither party attached much importance to that area. But they were continuing small disputes. They are those which have become important now because of various developments, because every party now is very much conscious of that border and frontier. Previously they were not, they took it for granted. Therefore, they have become important. I, really, was referring to that. When I talked about mediation, I was not thinking of inviting any country, Bandung or other. It is a small matter. Normally what is done is that each country affected appoints a representative to discuss and those representatives choose, maybe, a third, and three sit down and deal with the matter. You can't make these small matters increase their importance and ask countries to come and mediate, it is ridiculous, for a little village for all this to be happened or something; but some procedure, whatever it may be. But the bigger question—I had not spoken of the bigger question—that is of large areas which are shown in the Chinese maps. That I had not in mind then.

Now shall we go on to Laos.

18. Showing the following areas as Chinese territory: four of the five Divisions of NEFA; some areas in the north of Uttar Pradesh; and large swathes of Eastern Ladakh.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Question: May I ask you one question? Do you share the view of the President of the Indian National Congress that the Communists in India are potential fifth-columnists? It appeared in this morning's papers. She made a statement in Monghyr yesterday.<sup>19</sup>

Prime Minister: Look here, do you want to create family quarrels? (Laughter). It is always unsafe to make general and sweeping statements, even though the statement may have a grain of truth in it.

Question: You have promised Parliament that you will make available in the library maps which would show places involved in the border incidents. Would it be possible for a copy to be made available to the Press in the external publicity division?

Prime Minister: Well, the maps we have placed in the library of Parliament are four or five. One is a Chinese map, a wall map which shows these frontiers according to China. We have placed it there, but, really, unless you know Chinese it is little good to you. You won't understand it, roughly you will see it. Then, we have placed two copies of Chinese periodicals giving that map on a smaller scale. You probably have seen it. Some of you must have seen *China Pictorial* and others. And we have also placed a map of India, one of our maps, indicating where the Chinese map comes in in the border and indicating the passes etc. So I will find out from my Ministry what can be done to provide you with this assistance to understand this border.

Question: Have the Chinese explained anywhere where exactly the boundary goes?

Prime Minister: No. I am not, you have got all the correspondence anyway. Now let us go on to the next subject, now really, there have been too many one questions.

### Bhutan and Sikkim

19. In fact, *The Tribune* of 12 September quoted Indira Gandhi as saying in her speech at Muktsar, Moga district, Punjab, on 11 September that: "we are not afraid of China or Pakistan or any other country. We are, however, very much worried about the activities of Indian Communists who have proved beyond doubt that they are the fifth columnists and believers of violence. They have tried their worst to create lawlessness, unrest and a sense of insecurity in India during the twelve years since Independence."

Question: About Bhutan and Sikkim, yesterday you avoided any reference to Mr. Chou En-lai's statement in that connection, in his latest letter. Would you comment on that portion?

Prime Minister: No, no! I am not going to comment on this question. There is nothing to comment really. If I say anything, I might say it tomorrow, I don't know.<sup>20</sup>

Now Laos, what do you want to know about Laos?

Question: Sir, the Committee appointed by the Security Council, has it not violated the 1954 Geneva Agreement?<sup>21</sup>

Prime Minister: I do not know about violation; but it completely by-passes that. It is a rather foolish thing for anyone to say; that is to say that, "I told you so." But for the last many months we have been pointing out to all concerned that if once the procedure laid down by the Geneva Agreement breaks down or is ended, then trouble will come, because that procedure itself was meant to be a brake and a check on trouble. For five years it has been an effective brake. Therefore, it seemed to us that to remove that brake was a dangerous thing. Some responsible statesmen have said that the Geneva Agreement lapsed or ended. Whether it lapsed or not, the point is, the situation did not lapse for which it was meant. And so, as soon as the Geneva Agreement became inoperative, the situation came into the field. So we have always looked upon these International Commissions as coming out of one joint appreciation of the situation in Indo-China. I mean to say, not entirely separate commissions unconnected with the rest. They were separate commissions, no doubt, but nevertheless, there were certain matters which might be said to be joint, and the breaking down of one of them, therefore, affects the others. And one of the dangers of the situation is that the whole structure built up by the Geneva Agreement in Indo-China, apart from Laos, may not last. So far as we are concerned, while that is our view, we are not sticklers on a particular procedure; we should like to have peace in Indo-China, peace in Laos; and for them to work out their destiny, the people there. I cannot say what the consequences of

20. On 12 September he said in the Lok Sabha that Chou En-lai's letter of September 8 stated that "the question about Sikkim does not fall within the scope of our present discussion". See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.

21. The final declaration of the Geneva peace agreement on Indo-China was made on 21 July 1954. See SWJN/SS/26/pp. 344-364 and SWJN/SS/46/p. 600.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

this new step taken by the Security Council are likely to be and how at all this is going to function; but any real success is likely to come only by agreement of the parties.

Well, we go on to the next.

### Geneva Agreements

Question: There have been some misgivings expressed about the procedure adopted by the Security Council to get round what was intended obviously to be a Soviet veto. That surely is a misgiving.

Prime Minister: I am not lawyer or constitutionalist enough or acquainted so much with the United Nations procedure as to give an opinion; but there is one thing about this, that the Geneva Agreements were based on, you might say, the two rival parties cooperating. The Agreement itself was a result of that. Then the two Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, namely the British Chairman and the Soviet Chairman, were appointed Co-Chairmen to deal with subsequent developments; that is, the whole conception was one of cooperation between people who normally do not agree. Still in this matter it was considered important enough to get them to cooperate and thus produce a sensation of that cooperation lower down; I mean, in the countries and elsewhere. What I am worried about is that this idea of cooperation has or may break up. That, of course, will not be a good thing. I am not much concerned about the procedural details or what.

Question: In the larger interest, will the Government of India place at the disposal of this Committee the balanced picture of forces, about which it has a better knowledge than any other country?

Prime Minister: Balanced picture of forces?

Question: In Laos and Indo-China. Or would you just boycott the U.N. Committee?

Prime Minister. There is no question of boycotting or not boycotting. We are not in it. How do we boycott a thing in which we are not?

Question: That is why I asked will you place at the disposal of this Committee, if we are approached, the balanced picture of the Laos situation which we have got.

Prime Minister: I do not quite know what you mean. It depends on what they do and what happens. We are not going to boycott anybody, whatever our views may be. We are going to judge the question solely from the point of view of whether it helps in bringing about a cease-fire, to begin with, and peace there later. That is the only test that we can apply.

### Indo-Pakistan Relations

Now we go on to the next question: Indo-Pakistan Relations.

Question: In spite of your talk with General Ayub Khan, firing still takes place on the border, and about Kashmir I want to know what was the nature of the talk you had.<sup>22</sup>

Prime Minister: There was no talk about Kashmir.

Question: He said so at Dacca.

Prime Minister: The only reference to Kashmir was by President Ayub Khan, that we have many problems including that of Kashmir and we should solve all problems peacefully. I said, "I completely agree." That was the only reference to Kashmir. There was no discussion at all of any type on it, then he went on.

I think that, undoubtedly, [in] our meeting, President Ayub and I did create a healthier atmosphere; and this is all to the good. I do not know very much about these recent reports of firing on the border there. I am inclined to think that they are not at all important and I judge from that because once or twice I have seen those reports we have referred to our military intelligence, who are a little more cautious and more trained in reporting such incidents. They have said, "no! of no importance"; they were there. Because you see, first of all, there may be firing and it might not be very important, if you even analyse these reports that, say, somebody fired two rounds, somebody fired a gun, some soldier at the border, if he hears a noise his hands go to the trigger. It may be an animal, it may be a bird, it may be anything; and he fires. It is just, he has got into a bad habit; or he may be mischievous, if you like, some individual. We must not exaggerate an individual's misdemeanour, it happens. On the other

22. Ayub Khan met Nehru in Delhi on 1 September 1959, en route from Karachi to Dacca when he (Ayub) proposed the joint defence of the subcontinent. The joint communiqué after the talks said that outstanding issues of the two countries should be settled in a spirit of cooperation. See item 79 in this volume.



hand, we should naturally be vigilant and prevent anything wrong happening there. I think, by and large, the border is much better now.

Question: Would you consider taking steps to promote the free flow of information between India and Pakistan? I would refer specifically to the reciprocal difficulties correspondents in India and Pakistan find in visiting the other country, with the result that the news one country gets of the other tends to be based on rumour and all kinds of other gossip.

Prime Minister: I should be glad if that is done. I do not know exactly what the present position is. Is there any difficulty about your going to Pakistan?

A Correspondent: I happened to be there and I know that Indian correspondents in Pakistan cannot move outside Karachi or Lahore.

Prime Minister: Can or cannot?

A correspondent: Cannot.

And I know that the Pakistani correspondent here cannot move out from Delhi. He cannot go even to Qutab Minar at night time.

Prime Minister: Well, I am glad you told me that. I did not know that. I certainly think that any barriers to communications of this type and information should be removed.

Another Correspondent: This news is not correct, Sir. The last Associated Press of Pakistan correspondent could go to U.P. all the time to see his parents-in-law.

Prime Minister: It is a very unfortunate thing. I suppose it has nothing to do with correspondents, but to some kind of rules about people; Pakistanis who have come here with visas, etc., who are supposed to report where they are going to, and Indians there. I think, on several occasions we suggested to the Pakistan Government that these rules generally should be relaxed. My recollection is that they did not agree, and it is a bad habit, because they do it, we do it, and we do it, they do it, and this kind of thing. But I do think that all these rules about reporting to the Police should be progressively relaxed. It is a great nuisance to the average person who comes, and I do not suppose they affect very much the bad person who comes and goes!



Question: Your talks you had with General Ayub, that any procedure being set in motion or any machinery being set in motion to implement those talks soon or a week ago?

Prime Minister: The major proposal concerning the border incidents was that there should be a high level conference. We have recently had a Chief Secretaries' conference which has produced a very beautiful document, communiqué.<sup>23</sup> But the question always is of implementing them. So the idea was that a high level, Ministers' level conference, aided by others, should be held.<sup>24</sup> We accepted that and that is being considered, how to give effect to it.

Question: It was said in your joint statement that the relations between India and Pakistan should be guided or developed on a planned and rational basis. What precisely did you have in mind there—planned and rational basis?

Prime Minister: Well, the easiest way to understand it is to put the opposite of that there. They should not be irrational and adventitious without any thought given for the future. It is a perfect statement. What is wrong with it?

Question: I wondered whether you could explain more fully what exactly was intended.

Prime Minister: That is, we should not be swept away. I suppose I am giving you my interpretation, by some local happening here and there. We should keep the full picture in view, of the present and the future and the larger interests of all, both countries, and proceed rationally and not in an excited way. Something little happens, we get frightfully excited; somebody lets off a pop-gun and we think that is frightfully important.

23. Agreement on checking incidents on the borders of East Pakistan was reached at a two-day conference of the Chief Secretaries of East Pakistan, West Bengal, and Assam and Chief Commissioner of Tripura on 18 August 1959.
24. The Minister level conference from 15 to 22 October 1959, with sessions held alternatively in Delhi and Dacca, with Sardar Swaran Singh and K.M. Shaikh leading their respective delegations, decided that the boundaries between India and Pakistan should be demarcated expeditiously and the Nehru-Noon agreement implemented in full. By the Nehru-Noon agreement signed at New Delhi on 11 September 1958, both the Prime Ministers agreed to rectify the border on the east by settling old disputes and to exchange a number of enclaves. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 547-558.

Question: Sir, there is a report going about that General Ayub has offered military aid to India in case India is invaded by China. Is there any basis of truth in it?

Prime Minister: Well, it has not reached me, the report. It is highly unlikely that he would say anything like it.

### Central Social Welfare Board

Now I don't know what I am supposed to say about the Central Social Welfare Board.<sup>25</sup> I really don't know. I regret to say I have not read the bulky tomes that have been produced both by the Board and by the critics of the Board. But broadly speaking, I would say that the Central Social Welfare Board has done a very fine piece of work in India. It is easy to criticise its activity here and there, and the criticism may be justified, but taking an overall view, it has brought a new feature or a new development, brought thousands and thousands of women voluntary workers into this field and provided them with opportunities. As I said, you can easily criticise. You may say, 'this might have been done better, this is not being done well'. Some wastage is there, that is always possible and justifiable, but one has to take a bigger view. And I think it has done a very fine piece of work all over India.

### Thimayya's Resignation

And next was Menon-Thimayya differences.

Question: Can you give us the background of the resignation of Gen. Thimayya and how this resignation was interpreted as a challenge of military to the civil authority?

Prime Minister: There is not much background to give. So far as I am concerned, when the resignation came, it surprised me, although General Thimayya had seen me some days before.<sup>26</sup> I did not expect that it will lead to resignation. And you say I did not consider it and I do not consider that a challenge to civil authorities. But there were implications in it, not meant. I don't think they were

25. It was set up in August 1953 under the Union Ministry of Education to promote programmes of social welfare for women, children and handicapped persons. See SWJN/SS/35/p. 174.

26. See item 36 in this volume.



meant by anybody, but there were certain implications in that context which I thought should be cleared up. Therefore I referred to that. Otherwise nobody challenged it directly.

Question: Sir, have any complaints been made to you that apart from the charges of politics being imported in recruitments, which you have refuted, the whims and caprices of a particular Minister have been the reason for discontent in [the] army, and though it is not exactly the charge of politics that can be substantiated?

Prime Minister: It is an interesting question. Well, first of all, I think, it should be clearly understood that apart from vague talk and vague references in newspapers, there has been no mention, even a remote mention of two things to me, of promotions being affected or politics being brought into Defence, nobody has mentioned that to me, no responsible person, from any side. And yet, these two things are talked about so much, oh! politics have come in, promotions have been affected. And at no time—I have met many, many persons—has anybody said anything about either of these matters. There is no politics. There is nothing. There may be, as people sometimes are anywhere, have two opinions about an individual, about the quality of an individual. But even there, as I said, all the promotions excepting right at the top, which is peculiarly a governmental matter, it is put in our rules and regulations that Government will decide and nobody else. And apart from that, they were all routine ones through Selection Boards. Of course, when you make five or six hundred promotions it means that there are five or six hundred or a thousand persons who are not promoted, but left behind and they are naturally somewhat unhappy about it. You talk about whims and fancies. They count a lot in public and even in private life. I used the word “temperamental”, which covers whims and fancies. We are all, in our own way, temperamental, some more, some less. And the more sensitive and developed an individual, the more temperamental he is. It is only undeveloped individuals who live rather an untemperamental life. This is the penalty one pays for.

Question: Would you describe yourself, Sir, as highly temperamental?

Prime Minister: Yes, temperamental, who, after long labour and much experience, has to some extent, controlled his temperament.

Question: Sir, what will be the future of Mr Krishna Menon as Defence Minister in view of the feeling in the Congress party itself and other parties



and the PSP?

Prime Minister: I am not going to discuss the future. But he has been a brilliant Defence Minister in my view, that is, from the point of view of achievements in the Defence Ministry. I am not talking about him individually and he is not the only person achieving; I mean to say, the whole Ministry, from the Defence Minister right down to the Chiefs of Staff and our technical officers, engineering officers and all that, they have done a fine job of work during the last two years which pulled out the Defence Ministry from a rut, just carrying on, just carrying on in the old traditions; they were good traditions in so far as they went, but they had nothing to do with a modern army, the production in the modern army, which is most important, all relying on outside purchases here and there. For the first time we have partly succeeded and are succeeding day-by-day in pulling ourselves out of that rut, which is a very great achievement for our Defence Services. And I give credit for this not merely to Mr. Krishna Menon but to our senior officers and everybody, because they have all been associated with it.

One or two things have happened. Naturally, when you deal with production and the like, you deal with technicians, experts, scientists, engineers and the like, more than the officer who commands troops in the field of battle. A new type comes up. And it is this new type that is emerging in the army; competent technicians, competent engineers taking charge of production. Of course, they were there before that, but they are getting more opportunities. And all this business—we are making trucks or there has been some argument in Parliament etc., about this AVRO Aircraft. If you go down to H.A.L., some things you will see, some things you will not be allowed to see; but the whole place is humming with activity—Kanpur, Bangalore and elsewhere, because of this. Ha! it may be, when you hum a lot you may occasionally make a mistake. I have told them, I will tell you, and I will stand by that. I have told our engineers, not only there but elsewhere, that “I want you to take risks of even making mistakes.” Because we have arrived at a stage now, we had arrived and are still there, when every man with ideas, whether in the civil side or the other side, military side, is afraid, “if I do something, will I be hauled over the coals in Parliament or elsewhere; it is safer not to do anything; it is safer to work in the routine manner.” Now, of course, if that practice is followed, then there cannot be any progress. We lose the capacity of the man, the inventiveness, the spirit of adventure, his brilliance, he cannot use it because he thinks, “why should I do it,” and the result is the man being condemned. I told them my own view, I don’t know if others agree with it or not, “you go ahead and take risks, that is, reasonable risks, of course, not in the dare-devil way.”

The other day a very senior man came to me, an engineer in the Army,

about a big project. He said, "I think it should be done; I am ninety per cent sure that we can do it with success; there is a ten per cent risk of failure." I said, "Go ahead, take the ten per cent risk." And yet I know the poor fellow, if the ninety per cent does not come off, then he will be hauled over the coals. I do not think that is the way; you cannot do it. One of the reasons why private industry sometimes goes ahead faster is that they take risks; we do not hear of the failures there; there is nobody in Parliament to criticise them. They take risks and if they succeed, well, they succeed, they have come to quick decisions. Here the tendency in the Government offices, the tendency comes of not taking decisions and nobody being responsible, lest they be caught. And so you lose all the inventiveness of the fine people you have got. I am trying to impress upon them that they should go ahead and take moderate risks, moderate risks, not too much, and explaining those risks so that we do not leave it entirely to them; otherwise you cannot make any progress.

Question: Apart from the Defence production, do you think that perfect amity has been restored between General Thimayya and the Defence Minister so that they will be able to function as a Defence Minister and a Chief of Staff should do?

Prime Minister: I think so.

I come to the last question—President Eisenhower's possible visit to India.<sup>27</sup> I really cannot throw much light on it except that we would very much like him to come here as our honoured guest and I believe that he would like to come himself; but before he finally decides, no doubt he has to keep many aspects in view. If I may say so, one of his difficulties is that there are so many countries which invite him and where he would be expected to go if he starts touring about, paying visits. But still I hope that he will be able to come here. I can't say when, because that depends on him, not on us. That's the end of your question.

Question: One question on Tibet. You said several times that taking the Tibetan question to the United Nations will not do any good. In view of the strength of feeling of the Dalai Lama, could you say what harm you think it will do?

Prime Minister: I haven't quite got your question. What will do harm? I have mentioned two reasons, because in my view—and I have been advised by people

27. From 9 to 13 December 1959.



who know better these things—procedurally and according to the Charter it cannot be brought up there. Of course, you may go beyond the Charter or anything, but Tibet has not been recognised by any country, practically speaking, as an independent nation. Therefore, it has no independent status there. From that point of view, therefore, you cannot deal with it as if an independent nation comes to you.

On the other hand, the other part may be on the basis of human rights. Possibly, the fact that China is not a member, has not accepted the Charter of the Human Rights Declaration, or indeed is not in the United Nations at all also makes it difficult to do that, but the real answer to your question is not a legal or procedural one, but what good or harm it might do. Obviously, it cannot lead to any positive results, as far as I can see, except strong speeches. Now, if you think that those strong speeches are going to result in achieving any objective, I do not see it. Tibet question, a part of the cold war; and everything that becomes a part of the cold war becomes in that context more insoluble than ever, till some wonderful sea change comes over all the world. Instead of bringing relief to Tibet or the people of Tibet it actually may have the opposite effect.

Question: What shall be India's attitude if some other country sponsors Tibet's case in the United Nations?

Prime Minister: I have told you and I have announced publicly what we think about it. What we may do there depends on what comes up, in what form it comes up. There are so many things. But our views are quite clear about it.

Question: You told the Lok Sabha last week that no doubt many things have happened in Tibet which are deplorable. Is there anything that any outsider can do about these deplorable things? Is there anything that can be done from the outside?

Prime Minister: I do not know if (by) an outsider you mean an individual, or a group or a country; it is difficult to answer that question. This world is full of deplorable things about which, perhaps, as an individual one might do something, at any rate. I might say, in the shape of protests and dissociation and all that. A country, although supposed to be much more powerful than the individual, has to function in a more limited sphere, the Government of a country, anything.

One thing I should like to say. We began today with discussing the India-China question. I do not think, as I told you, that anything big is going to happen in the foreseeable future, because I cannot imagine any greater folly of



either country than to encourage anything or permit it. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the situation is not some border trouble, a mile on this side and a mile on that side, but the growing feeling of estrangement, irritation and sometimes anger on both sides. That is a bad thing and that is a thing we have found against, not in regard to China only but in regard to any country in the world. That is to say, it is a feeling which accompanies the cold war outlook. The moment you get that, whatever the rights and wrongs of a question might be, the moment you get that, you have got into the wrong atmosphere, you lost your moorings, mental, psychological. You are excited, passionate, angry and it is not a good thing for a country or a people to become that. I attach very great importance to it because that is the normal war psychosis or whatever you call it. There may be no war. I would beg to you—I do not ask you to treat this question lightly because it is a serious matter. But I will beg of you to prevent people from getting excited, passion-filled on this issue. It is very easy for people to do that, it is so easy. And because of this I have regretted some types of demonstrations that have taken place here in Delhi and elsewhere before the Chinese Embassy.<sup>28</sup>

You know that we have all kinds of demonstrations and troubles internally. I do not like them but they do not very much matter. After all it is an internal matter. But you cannot project this internal behaviour on to the external field; that is dangerous. Something happens on the other side of the same type, then you get angrier still. This kind of thing does not lead to anything. It should not be the behaviour of a mature, thoughtful country. We should be firm but we should, at the same time, not function in an angry and excited way. We should avoid these demonstrations which are no signs of strength. They do not affect anybody outside, nobody is frightened by them.

Thank you.

28. *The Tribune* of 7 September reported that the supporters of Jan Sangh on 6 September staged a demonstration against the "violations" of Indian borders by China. Similarly, demonstrations had taken place in front of Chinese Consulates in Calcutta and Bombay from on 4 September 1959.

## 2. Talk with Pressmen<sup>29</sup>

Question: How did you enjoy your trip?

Prime Minister: I enjoyed it thoroughly. I was asked how I enjoyed my trip. I said I enjoyed it thoroughly, as I usually do, wherever I go.

Did you see the peacock throne, Sir?

PM: No, I did not see any peacock throne anywhere.

Q: There was a report here that you might get down at Karachi and meet Gen. Ayub.

PM: How could I? It was a long enough journey as it is. If I had gone to Karachi I would not have come today here at all.

Q: Do you think your visit has achieved what it set out to?

PM: It did not set out to achieve anything, what shall I say.

Q: It was a goodwill visit, Sir?

PM: Yes, goodwill visit, at least it is that, nothing else. I wanted to achieve. We have no parti-cular problems with either Afghanistan or Iran. So it was a purely goodwill visit and I do think that.

Q: Did you meet any Pakhtoon there, Sir, leaders of the Pakhtoon movement?

PM: No.

Q: Is there any proposal to call the Bandung Conference, Sir? It is several years since the....

PM: The question was not referred to anywhere I went.

29. At Palam Airport, New Delhi, 22 September 1959, on his arrival from Afghanistan and Iran. AIR tapes, NMML.



Q: Sir, You have been following the papers.

PM: Well, naturally, not very closely, because the papers in other languages, Persian and, but major events, of course, I heard of.

Q: What do you think of Khrushchev's proposal?<sup>30</sup>

PM: It is too difficult for me to, I said, do not ask me now to give any precise opinions. It has to be studied. I have not done it carefully, I have only seen headlines. But it seems to me to be a very brave and far reaching proposal which deserves the fullest consideration. As a proposal it certainly is as far reaching as anything could go. But the question of its implementation, etc., no doubt will have to be carefully examined. Anyhow I cannot really give an opinion till I have read it as a whole. In a sense our opinions in India are rather academic about these matters. It is the great powers who have these tremendous armed forces, etc., who have to decide.

Q: Did you come across De Gaulle's proposals about Algeria?<sup>31</sup>

PM: That too, I saw some headlines. I do not know the details of them.

Q: would you like to comment?

PM: No, I would rather not. I should know more precisely what it is.

Q: Would you like to say something more specific about Iran or Afghanistan?

PM: Well, I am very happy I went there. In both countries I got an extraordinarily warm welcome, not only from the governments but from the people, which was very heartening because it showed their basic friendly feelings towards our country, the people's feelings. Also, I saw in both an attempt to tackle new problems in their different ways. It is not for me to discuss those problems.

30. *The Times of India* of 17 September reported that Khrushchev had declared on 16 September that: "Russia and US must find ways to use nuclear power and rocket science for peace or the earth will be covered with ashes and graves."

31. *The Times of India* of 17 September reported that De Gaulle on 16 September offered Algeria the right to decide its future four years after the return of peace to the "strifetorn country." He asked them to choose between secession, integration with France, and autonomy supported by France.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

There are difficult problems each country has to face, but there was this definite attempt. Everywhere there was also some progress made about something in which we have done a good deal, that is, community development, and a demand for us to send our exports in community development to help them a little.

Q: Did you discuss these India-China border problems?.... At least you informed them?

PM: Yes, naturally, the matter was referred to. It was not exactly a discussion or a dispute but the matter was factually referred to.

Q: Did you inform them about the situation?

PM: I am telling you, I have talked about it.

Q: You see everything in the papers. Do you think that there is any improvement, Sir, in the situation?

PM: Where?

Q: On the Indo-China border.

PM: I have heard nothing special about it in the recent papers or the messages.

Q: Do you think there is greater realisation now in Iran about our non-alignment policy?

PM: I hope so.

Q: Did you feel there was?

PM: I suppose so. Naturally, it is very difficult for me to answer, but I think that they probably appreciated, at least, there is greater understanding or realisation, as you put it, of what our policy is.

Q: In the morning papers they have reported something in the Bengal Assembly, it seems.

PM: What Assembly?

Q: Bengal Assembly. Exchange of shoes and ....particularly.

PM: I know nothing about it.

Q: So, thank you very much.

PM: Thank you.

### (b) Interviews with Ram Narayan Chaudhary

### 3. Interview—I<sup>32</sup>

चौधरी :<sup>33</sup> आपके रोजमर्रा के बारे में मुझे मालूम हुआ कि आपकी दिनचर्या ये है। 6.30 उठना। 7.30 शौच, स्नान, व्यायाम वगैरा। 8.30 अखबार व नाश्ता। 9.30 दर्शनार्थियों से मिलना। 1.30 दफ्तर से आना। 3.00 भोजन-विश्राम। 6.30 तक दफ्तर में। 8.30 मुलाकातें कोठी पर या बाहर के कार्यक्रम। 9.30 भोजन। 12.30 तक ज़रूरी लिखना-पढ़ना। क्या अब भी यही दिनचर्या है या कोई फ़र्क है?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, कमोवेश ऐसा ही है। बिलकुल वक़्त जैसे आपने कहा, वैसे न हो। जैसे सुबह मैं क़रीब साढ़े छह बजे उठता हूँ और कोई डेढ़ घण्टे से दो घण्टे तक मुझे लगते हैं तैयार होने में, जिसमें अखबार पढ़ना शामिल है, वगैरा। मैं अखबार वगैरा नहाने से पहले पढ़ता हूँ। फिर कोई वर्ज़िश वगैरा करनी हो करता हूँ।

चौधरी : क्या वर्ज़िश करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : आजकल तो कुछ भी नहीं करता हूँ।

चौधरी : ये तो अच्छी बात नहीं है।

32. New Delhi, 8 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

The two interviews in this sub section are part of a series of 19 interviews to Ram Narayan Chaudhary, 1958-1960. For previous interviews see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 144-165; SWJN/SS/45/pp. 241-297; SWJN/SS/51/items 4-8.

33. Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

नेहरूजी : हाँ, अच्छी बात तो नहीं है। लेकिन कुछ एक ढील हो गयी, अब क्या किया जाये। जबसे शिमले गया तब से। और कमोबेश यही है।

चौधरी : मुझे ये भी बताया गया कि आप सब कुछ खाते हैं, परन्तु मिर्च नहीं खाते, मसालेदार तली हुई चीजें और मिठाइयाँ नापसन्द करते हैं और खुराक कम खाते हैं। क्या ये ठीक है? सबसे ज्यादा क्या चीजें खाने की आपको पसन्द हैं?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, शायद मैं कम खाता हूँ, क्योंकि अरसे से मेरा खयाल रहा है कि ज्यादातर पेट की खराबियाँ ज्यादा खाने से होती हैं। क्या खाया इतनी अहमियत नहीं रखता, जितना ज्यादा खाना। और जब आदत एक दफ़े पड़ जाती है, तो ज्यादा खाया भी नहीं जाता। मैं खाता तो क़रीब-क़रीब सभी चीजें हूँ, जो मेरे सामने हों। मिर्च की मुझे बिलकुल आदत नहीं है, न ज्यादा घी वगैरा की, न घी में बने हुए सामान वगैरा की। और तो कोई बात नहीं।

चौधरी : आपको कैसे पसन्द क्या है? ख़ास कोई, फलों में, और में?

नेहरूजी : आसान नहीं है कहना। बहुत सारी चीजें पसन्द हैं। फल मुझे बहुत पसन्द हैं। ज़ाहिर है आम पसन्द हैं। लेकिन अलावा और भी पसन्द हैं मुझे फल। काफ़ी फल मैं खाता हूँ।

चौधरी : आप व्यायाम करते हैं? शीर्षासन रोज़ करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : नहीं, मैंने आपसे कहा कि कई महीने से मैंने नहीं किया है। शायद फिर करने लगूँ। बीच में कुछ तबीयत ढीली हो गयी थी, तो जी नहीं चाहता था। फिर उसके बाद कुछ वक़्त की तंगी से छूट गया।

चौधरी : पण्डितजी, ये वक़्त तो आपको निकालना ही चाहिए। ये तो कुछ अच्छी बात नहीं। आप इतना काम करते हैं, शीर्षासन तो, वो भी छूट गया होगा?

नेहरूजी : जी हाँ, छूट गया। छूट गया से मतलब मुमकिन है दस रोज़ में एक दफ़े कर लूँ, रोज़ नहीं।

चौधरी : हजामत रोज़ अपने हाथ से बनाते हैं या नाई बनाता है?

नेहरूजी : रोज़ अपने हाथ से बनाता हूँ और चालीस बरस से ये सिलसिला है, बल्कि ज्यादा से।

चौधरी : आपके कपड़े रोज़ बदले जाते हैं?



नेहरूजी : ज़ाहिर है कपड़े बदले जाते हैं। कभी-कभी दिन में दो दफ़े। या जैसे शाम को दिन भर के कपड़े भिंच गये हों वगैरा।

चौधरी : जूतों पर रोज़ पालिश होती है?

नेहरूजी : होती ही होगी। हाँ, होती ही है।

चौधरी : आप मंजन, दातुन या ब्रश—क्या करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : मैं मंजन करता हूँ, एक देशी मंजन करना हूँ एक वक्त्र, सुबह-शाम को भी एक टूथपेस्ट करता हूँ ब्रश से।

चौधरी : दो बार करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : जी हाँ, सुबह-शाम।

चौधरी : आपने सिगरेट पीना और माँस खाना पहले छोड़ दिया था। वो किन कारणों से छोड़ा था? अब फिर खाते-पीते हैं? इसका क्या कारण हुआ?

नेहरूजी : कोई खास कारण मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन जहाँ तक मुझे याद पड़ता है सिगरेट पीना मैंने छोड़ा, एक तो मेरा खयाल हुआ उस वक्त्र, कि इसमें फ़िज़ूल रुपया खर्च होता है। दूसरे किसी आदत से बँध न जाऊँ मैं। दो बातें थीं। माँस खाना, ख्वाहिश हुई उस वक्त्र छोड़ने की, छोड़ दिया, पाँच-छै बरस तक नहीं खाया। फिर मैं यूरोप गया था उसके बाद, तो हल्के-हल्के खाने लगा। लेकिन कभी मैंने ज़्यादा नहीं खाया। अब भी बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं खाता, बहुत थोड़ा-सा खाता हूँ।

चौधरी : आपने एक दफ़ा, मुझे याद है, कहा था कि गाँधीजी का भी आप पर असर हुआ इसके छोड़ने में।

नेहरूजी : असर इस माने में नहीं कि गाँधीजी ने कभी मुझसे ज़िक्र किया हो उसका। लेकिन वो हवा थी उस वक्त्र। हवा का असर था जिसमें गाँधीजी थे।

चौधरी : शराबबन्दी को हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति के अलावा मदिरापान के बारे में आपकी निजी राय क्या है? आप उसके खिलाफ़ हैं, उदासीन हैं या किन्हीं हालात में या किसी हद

तक उसे ठीक समझते हैं?

नेहरूजी : मैं उसे नुकसानदेह समझता हूँ, अगर ज्यादा पी जाय। मैं कुछ उसको गुनाह नहीं समझता हूँ। वो खाना-पीना है। हाँ, मैं ज्यादा खाने को उससे ज्यादा बड़ा गुनाह समझता हूँ। चाहे चावल खा लें ज्यादा। मैं उसे निहायत नुकसानदेह शरीर और दिमाग के लिए समझता हूँ। और ये मदिरा और शराब वगैरा हज़ार क्रिस्म की हैं। उनको एक ही खाने में रखना कोई खास माने नहीं हैं। बाज़ बहुत खतरनाक हैं, बाज़ बहुत हल्की हैं और टानिक के क्रिस्म की हैं। लेकिन आम तौर से खुल्लम-खुल्ला उसको कर देना, उसमें खतरे हैं, नुकसान होता है लोगों को। यानी उसे पीने के लिए जो भी आदमी रेस्ट्रेंट रखे, वो पिये, न कि बह जाय। इसलिए रुकावटें डालना उसके रास्ते में अच्छा है।

चौधरी : मतलब ऑन द होल आप उसके खिलाफ़ हैं?

नेहरूजी : हाँ, मैं उसके खिलाफ़ हूँ, लेकिन ये नहीं लिखता कि कोई एक बड़ा गुनाह है वह।

चौधरी : उसके नतीजों से हो। खैर, आपको भी कुत्ते-बिल्ली पालने का शौक़ है और आप पहाड़ी बिल्लियों को रोज़ अपने हाथ से खिलाते हैं और प्रेम से रखते हैं। इसमें और हमारे लाला लोगों के चींटियों को आटा और कबूतरों को अनाज खिलाने में क्या फ़र्क़ है? आपके पशु प्रेम का माँसाहार के साथ कैसे मेल बैठता है? दो सवाल हैं इसमें।

नेहरूजी : ये तो आपके अजीब सवाल हैं। एक जानवर से, पशु से प्रेम करना उससे दोस्ती करना है। कोई चींटी से दोस्ती नहीं करता है। मालूम नहीं क्यों उसको खिलाता-पिलाता है, वो उससे जा के पूछें। लेकिन शायद इसलिए कि उसकी कुछ उससे रूहानियत बढ़े। या उसको कोई...

चौधरी : जीव दया के खयाल से लोग ज्यादातर ये करते हैं।

नेहरूजी : जीव दया तो और बात है। लेनि एक चींटी इन्सान से ज्यादा अपनी देख-भाल कर सकती है। कहीं ज्यादा उसमें शक्ति है। उसको जा-जा कर शक्कर देना मेरी राय में एक इन्तहा दर्जे मूर्खता की निशानी है, जहालत की निशानी है और दुनिया को नहीं समझने की निशानी है। अगर इन्सान की मदद करें इतनी, तो ज्यादा उनको फ़ायदा हो- उनकी रूह को भी और उनके जिस्म को भी। जो इन्सान ऐसा करते हैं, वो इन्सान का गला दबायेंगे, गला काटेंगे और चींटी को जा के शक्कर खिलायेंगे और समझेंगे कि उन्होंने हिसाब बराबर कर दिया। ये बात तो मुझे पसन्द नहीं है। जानवर की ही बात नहीं है — ये तो ज़िन्दा चीज़ है।



मुझे तो प्रकृति की चीजों से भी दोस्ती है। फूल हैं, दरख्त हैं, बहुत सारी बातें हैं। अपनाना उनको अच्छा लगता है। उसमें भी मुझे कभी ख़ास ये सवाल पेश नहीं हुआ कि माँस खायें और जानवरों से प्रेम करें। उसको आप बहस तक ले जाइये तो वो हो सकता है। है ये बात। आदमी आदी हो जाते हैं। दुनिया भर का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा आदी है इसका। सबसे ज़्यादा वाक़या ये है कि सबसे कम पशुओं से प्रेम हिन्दुस्तान में है। ये अजीब बात है। जबकि अहिंसा का बहुत चर्चा करेंगे दुनिया के देशों में — सब में कम तो नहीं जानता, सब देशों में तो बहुत हैं, लेकिन आम तौर से जिन देशों में मैं गया हूँ — जो माँसाहारी देश हैं, इतना प्रेम करते हैं जानवरों से कि मुझे उसका नामो-निशान यहाँ नज़र नहीं आया है, कोई जानवर भी हो, छोड़ दीजिए आप, कोई। आपको एक मामूली जानवर जो सड़क पर दिखता है, घोड़े हैं, गायें हैं, बैल हैं, जिस तरह उनसे बरताव होता है — गाय से, वैसे गाय की पूजा करते हैं — कभी आप वो बरताव और देश में नहीं देखेंगे, न घोड़े के साथ, न गाय के साथ। वे उसको मार दें, उसको खा जायें, लेकिन जब तक वो ज़िन्दा है, उससे प्रेम है, उसका आदर है और उसकी देख-भाल अच्छी है। वहाँ बुरे जानवर बहुत कम नज़र आते हैं। हर जगह भूखे, बुरे। कुत्ते हैं, वहाँ ज़रा वहाँ अच्छे ही नज़र आते हैं।

चौधरी : गाँधीजी को गुस्सा बहुत कम आता था, मगर जब आता था तो उसके उतरने में देर लगती थी। इसी तरह उनका किसी के बारे में ख़राब ख़याल भी बहुत कम होता था, परन्तु वो सुधरता भी बहुत जल्दी नहीं था। आपको गुस्सा जितनी जल्दी आता है, उतनी ही जल्दी उतर जाता है। और बहुत अरसे का ख़राब ख़याल भी बहुत जल्दी ठीक हो जाता है। ये कोई साधना है, या क्या बात है?

नेहरूजी : मैं इसका क्या जवाब दूँ?

चौधरी : आप ही दे सकते हैं और कौन दे सकता है?

नेहरूजी : मैं, मैं तो नहीं दे सकता। मेरा ख़याल है कि मुझे गुस्सा कभी-कभी चढ़ आता है जल्दी। पहले से ज़रा कम। उसे गुस्सा कहना बहुत सही न हो, झुंझलाहट होती है। और कभी-कभी गुस्सा हो जाय लेकिन जल्दी उतर जाता है, क्योंकि वो कुछ व्यक्तियों से नहीं होता, वो वाक़ये से होता है। वाक़या ख़तम हो गया तो बस वो भी ख़तम हो गया।

चौधरी : क्योंकि ये एक बड़े ताज़्जुब की सी बात सबों के लिए होती है कि इतना जल्दी, फ़ौरन कैसे हो जाता है। एक सवाल छोटा-सा और करना था, वो आप जिसे अजीब कहा करते हैं। आप कभी-कभी धोती क्यों नहीं पहनते? बहुत अच्छा मालूम होता है। पहले अच्छी लगती थी जब आप पहनते थे।

नेहरूजी : हाँ, लगती है। मैंने करीब-करीब दस-बारह बरस से नहीं पहनी है। एक तो ये कि धोती एक आराम की निशानी है, काम की नहीं है मेरी निगाह में। धोती में खूबी है खास, धोती में या किसी कपड़े में कि ऐसी चीज़ पहनना जो आम लोग पहनते हैं, ज़ाहिर है उसमें खूबी है। लेकिन मुझे कोई शक नहीं कि धोती पहनने वाले में काम की कैपेसिटी कम होती है और आजकल के इण्डस्ट्रियल एज में धोती ख़तरनाक है। यानी मशीन के पास आप जायें, धोती फँस जाय। आप बस से उतर रहे हैं, फँस गये पहिये में साइकिल के। वो आजकल के ज़माने में खपती नहीं है। यानी एक कोई भी कपड़ा जो ज़रा बढ़ा हुआ है, उसमें ज़रा डर है। और हमारे यहाँ ढील देने की बहुत आदत है। चलना, बैठना, उठना—बैठने से लेटना पसन्द करेंगे, चलने से बैठना पसन्द करेंगे। चलेंगे तो ढीले चलेंगे। दो आदमी, तीन आदमी चलेंगे तो कभी इस बात का ख़याल नहीं होगा कि पैर मिला के चलें। ये सब बातें जो अक्सर दुनिया में मामूली समझी जाती हैं, वो यहाँ करी नहीं जाती आदतन, या किसी क्रदर जान-बूझ कर भी। एक ज़रा चुस्ती उनकी ज़िन्दगी में कम है। तो ये सब बातें हैं जिनसे आदमी ये चाहता है कि ज़रा ज़्यादा डिसिप्लिन हो जाय ज़िन्दगी में। धोती बहुत अच्छी पोशाक है। मुझे उससे एतराज़ नहीं। लेकिन मैंने आपसे कहा, काम-काज में कोई वो खास...अब आप देखते हैं हमने कोई एनकरेज नहीं किया। लेकिन अक्सर यहाँ दफ़्तर वगैरा के लोग पतलून और कोट पहनते हैं, हालाँकि एक बात हमने ज़रूर उनके कही कि बेहतर है यहाँ बन्द पहनो, टाई-कॉलर में पैसे ज़ाया न करो। क्यों पहनते हैं वो? क्योंकि वाक़या ये है कि बहुत आसान है काम-काज के लिए। आना-जाना, बाइसिकल पर चढ़ना, दफ़्तर में काम करना। वो एक मौज़ू चीज़ है। हल्के-हल्के लोग बग़ैर किसी के कहे-सुने करते हैं। किसान के लिए अब भी धोती मौज़ू चीज़ है। उसको बहुत काम देती है। लेकिन अब भी आप देखें, उसी किसान का लड़का स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ता है तो वो स्कूल-कॉलेज में बदलने लगता है, कुछ आजकल के ज़माने के असर से।

चौधरी : कभी-कभी मीटिंग्स वगैरा में, ऐसे मजमे के समय पहनें तो?

नेहरूजी : वो तो फिर दिखाने की बात हो जाती है।

चौधरी : लोगों का सेण्टीमेंट है।

नेहरूजी : वो दिखाने की बात हो जाती है। क्रिस्सा मशहूर है। हमारे दोस्त थे कलकत्ते के बड़े लीडर बंगाली। बहुत बड़े लीडर थे वहाँ के। तो उन्होंने शाम को बुलाया आदमी को। एक बुलाया, बैरा, बैरा, मीटिंग की पोशाक लाओ तो वो हो जाती है न मीटिंग की पोशाक। खास दिखाने के लिए है।

चौधरी : मुझसे कई आदमियों ने ये बात कही है कि पण्डितजी पहले जब धोती में आते



ये तो अच्छे लगते थे। लोगों का एक खयाल है, थोड़ा-सा सेण्टीमेंट है। तो आज इतना ही है? एक पण्डितजी इस किताब के नाम रखने की बात थी।

[Translation begins:

Ram Narayan Chaudhary<sup>34</sup>: I have come to know that your daily routine is as follows: 6.30, you get up. 7.30, toilet, bath, exercise, etc. 8.30, newspapers and breakfast. 9.30, meeting visitors. 1.30, back from office. 3.00, lunch, rest. Till 6.30, in the office. 8.30, meetings at home or other programmes. 9.30, dinner. Upto 12.30, files and other necessary work. Do you still adhere to this routine or is there any difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is more or less the same, though it may not be exactly the same time wise. For instance, I get up every day at about 6.30 and it takes me about an hour and a half, or two, to get ready which includes reading the newspapers, etc. I usually read the newspapers before I go for my bath. Then I do whatever exercise I have to.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What do you do?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nowadays I do nothing.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: That is not a good thing.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is not a good thing. Some slackness has crept in. What is to be done? This has been so since I went to Simla. Otherwise the routine is more or less this.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I have also been told that you eat everything except hot, spicy, fried food; that you dislike sweets and you eat very little. Is this right? What are the things that you like best?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, perhaps I eat very little, because for a long time I have felt that most of the problems related to the stomach arise from overeating. What one eats is not as crucial as the quantity one eats. I eat practically anything that comes before me. I do not eat hot, fried things or spicy food, otherwise I have no restrictions.

34. See fn 33 in this section.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What are you fond of eating? Anything special, in fruit or something else?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to say. I like a number of things. I like fruit very much. Obviously, I like mangoes. But I like other fruits too. I eat lots of fruit.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you exercise s? Do you do the headstand everyday?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, as I told you, I have not been doing anything for many months. Perhaps I shall start again. In between, I had become somewhat indisposed and did not feel like doing anything. After that, I could not take it up again for lack of time.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Pandit ji, you must find time for that. It is not a good thing. You are always working so hard. Have you stopped doing headstand also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, what I mean is that I may do it once in ten days or so, but not daily.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you shave yourself daily or the barber does it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shave myself daily, and it has been my habit for the last forty years or more.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you change your clothes every day?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Obviously, there's a change of clothing, sometimes twice a day, or in the evening, if the clothes worn during the day are crumpled.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Are your shoes polished every day?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose so.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you use paste or neem stick or tooth brush?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I use tooth powder, an Indian tooth powder once a day and brush my teeth twice, morning and evening, with toothpaste.



Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You brush your teeth twice?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, morning, evening.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You had stopped smoking cigarettes and eating meat earlier. Why did you do so? Now you have started again. Why?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot think of any special reason. But as far as I can remember, I had stopped smoking because I felt at the time that it was a waste of money and secondly, I did not want to become a slave to a habit. Both the things were there, I stopped eating meat once because I wanted to. I did not eat it for five to six years. Then I started again when I went to Europe. But I never ate much. Even now I do not eat very much.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: I remember you saying once that Gandhi ji's influence was responsible for it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Influence not in the sense that he ever asked me to do so. But it was in the air then. The atmosphere around Gandhi ji.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Apart from our national policy of prohibition, what is your own personal view about drinking? Are you against it, indifferent to it or think it is good to some extent and in certain circumstances?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I consider alcohol in large quantities harmful. But I do not think it is a crime. I think over-eating or over-drinking is bad. I think even eating too much rice is extremely harmful to the mind and body. Then, liquor can be of various kinds. There is no sense in putting them in the same bracket. Some are very dangerous; others are light and almost like a tonic. But normally there are dangers in making liquor freely available. It can do harm to people. Only those who can exercise restraint should drink, not otherwise. Therefore it is good to have some restrictions.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Meaning that on the whole you are against it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I am, but I do not say that it is a big crime.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: You dislike the consequences that may follow. Well, you are fond of pets, dogs and cats and feed the mountain cats with

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

your own hands and keep them with affection. What is the difference between this and our merchants, the lalas feeding ants and pigeons? How does your love of animals fit in with non-vegetarianism? There are two questions in this.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Your question is rather strange. You can love an animal and have him for a friend. How can anyone have an ant as a friend? I do not know why anyone feeds them. Ask those who do. Perhaps they do it to get some merit or something....

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Normally people do it out of compassion to animals.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is different. But an ant can look after itself better than a human being. It is far more capable of doing so. Therefore, in my view it is extremely foolish to go and feed sugar to them. In my opinion it is a sign of extreme stupidity and shows that they do not understand the world. If they were to help human beings, they would benefit physically and spiritually much more. Those who feed ants are normally the people who cut other's throats and think they can square up the equation by feeding ants. I do not like this. It is not a question of animals alone. They are living things. I love all things in nature, flowers, trees, and so on I like to make them mine. I have never faced any dilemma about eating meat and loving animals. You can argue about it. People get used to it. A large portion of mankind is used to it. It is a strange thing, that it is in India that animals are least loved. In other countries, at least the ones that I have visited, where people are non-vegetarians, they have great love for animals and in India, where non-violence is talked about so much, there is not a trace of it. You can see how the ordinary animals on the street are treated—horses, cows, bullocks. Cows are worshipped but they are brutally treated in India. Others may eat them, but so long as they are alive, they are well looked after and loved. You will seldom find weak, emaciated animals in those countries. Even dogs are very well looked after.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Gandhi ji was always slow to anger but once he got angry, it took a long time for him to cool down. Similarly, he did not easily think badly of anyone but if he formed a bad impression about anyone, it could not be easily corrected either. You are both quick to anger and to cool down. You are willing to change even a long-standing adverse impression. Is this some kind of training or what?



Jawaharlal Nehru: What can I say to that?

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Only you can do so. Who else can?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I cannot do so. I think sometimes I get angry very quickly, though it is less now. It may not be right to call it anger. It is more like annoyance. But even if I get angry sometimes, I simmer down quickly, because it is usually about some incident and not with people. Once the incident is closed, the anger evaporates.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: People are surprised that it happens so quickly. I want to ask you one small question which may seem strange to you. Why don't you wear a dhoti sometimes? It used to suit you very well when you used to do so.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that is true. I have not worn one for more than ten years. For one thing, I think it is a symbol of leisure and not of work. Dhoti is a very nice dress and has something special about it, as any dress that the masses wear generally is. But I have no doubt that an individual's capacity to work becomes less by wearing a dhoti. It is dangerous in the modern industrial age. If you go near a machine, or when you are getting down from a bus or while you are riding a cycle, the dhoti can get caught. It does not fit in with the modern times. There is danger in anything which is loose and trailing. Moreover, it is an Indian habit to be slack. People would prefer to lie down rather than sit, sit rather than walk. There is slackness even in walking. If you see two, three people walking in the street, you will not find them in step with one another. Things, which are considered ordinary in other countries are not done in India, as a habit or even deliberately. There is a certain lack of smartness in our lives. So it is a good thing to adopt ways which may bring greater discipline into life. Dhoti is a nice dress. I have no objection to it. But as I told you, it is not suitable for work, though we did not specially encourage anyone to do so. People generally wear pants and coats. We did once say that instead of wasting money on tie and collar, people should wear coats with closed collars. People prefer western clothes because they are better for going to work in, for travelling by bus or cycle. So people have gradually adopted them without any one telling them to do so. Dhoti is suitable, even now, for the farmer. But you will see that his son who reads in school or college has begun to change due to the influence of the times.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Can't you wear it sometimes for meetings, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then that becomes a matter of show.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: It is a question of peoples' sentiments.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that is for show. There is a famous tale of a friend of ours, a great Bengali leader of Calcutta. He called his bearer one evening and told him to bring him meeting dress (laugh). So that is what it becomes, a meeting dress.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Many people have remarked to me that Panditji used to look very good in a dhoti when he used to wear it earlier. It is just a sentiment of the people.

I think this is enough for today. Panditji, there was the matter of selecting a name for this book...

Translation ends.]

#### 4. Interview—II<sup>35</sup>

चौधरी : आप लोकतन्त्र अधिक पसन्द करते हैं या समाजवाद?

नेहरूजी : मुझे तो दोनों में फ़र्क़ नहीं मालूम है और मेरा ख़याल है कि पूरी तौर से डेमोक्रेसी हो ही नहीं सकती, जब तक समाजवाद न हो, अधूरी रह जाती है।

चौधरी : जैसे अमरीका में डेमोक्रेसी मानते हैं, पूरी है वहाँ?

नेहरूजी : जी हाँ, उसको कहते हैं राजनीतिक डेमोक्रेसी, वहाँ पूरी है। आर्थिक डेमोक्रेसी एक माने में बहुत है वहाँ, लेकिन समाजवाद के माने में आर्थिक डेमोक्रेसी।

चौधरी : आप अपने उत्तराधिकारी की बात का कभी विचार करते हैं? और नहीं तो उसमें आपत्ति क्या है?

35. New Delhi, 9 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



नेहरूजी : इस किस्म की बातें हो नहीं सकतीं। डेमोक्रेटिक स्ट्रक्चर में ये बातें नहीं चलती हैं। मिसालें आपको बहुत मिल सकती हैं, जहाँ वो तैयार किये गये और उनकी कहीं बहुत पहुँच भी नहीं हुई जो तैयार किये गये। वो कुछ आप कहिए आपस में रिस्क वगैरा वो लेनी होती है। तैयारी की हवा पैदा करनी चाहिए, जिसमें लोग तैयार हों। एक आदमी को जहाँ पकड़ा, ये उसके लिए नुकसानदेह हो जाता है, और शायद फ़िज़ूल हो जाता है, क्योंकि उसको मंज़ूर किया जाय, न किया जाय, कौन कहे?

चौधरी : आपके जीवन में सबसे सुखी घड़ी कौन रही और सबसे दुखी कौन?

नेहरूजी : ये तो सुख और दुख के क्या माने हैं देखने की बात है। जवाब तो मुश्किल है, क्योंकि सुख तो ख़ाली शरीर का सवाल नहीं है, दिमाग़ का होता है। कभी-कभी दुख के बीच में सुख होता है या उल्टा होता है उसका। तो इसका जवाब मुश्किल है देना। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ जब, क्या कहूँ, दिमाग़ में विचार है, जहाँ जाना है और विचारों से अमल पूरी तौर से मिल जाता है, तब ज़िन्दगी पूरी मालूम होती है, नहीं तो अधूरी होती है। वो सुख नहीं कहलाता है। वो सुख से कोई बड़ी चीज़ है। या जो कुछ कहिए, छोटी चीज़ है। वो चीज़ फ़ुलफ़िलमेंट होता है। और जितना उन दोनों में फ़ासला हो जाय वो ही नॉन-फ़ुलफ़िलमेंट है, और दुख है।

चौधरी : तो इस ख़याल से मैं पूछ रहा था कि कोई घटना जैसे आज़ादी मिली या और ऐसी कोई बात हुई हो?

नेहरूजी : बहुत सारी घटनाएँ हैं। आज़ादी मिली। खुशी की बात थी, कोई शक़ नहीं। लेकिन उसी के साथ साथ हौलनाक बातें, जो पार्टीशन की बातें हैं वो भी साथ आयीं।

चौधरी : क्या आपको कभी महसूस होता है कि आपका अत्यन्त फ़ोटोजेनिक फेस है यानी चित्र लेने लायक़ चेहरा है? आपको ये ख़याल कैसा लगता है? और आपके बारे में जो कार्टूनस प्रकाशित होते हैं, उन पर आपको क्या प्रतिक्रिया होती है?

नेहरूजी : मैं अपने चेहरे की निस्वतः क्या राय दूँ? अक्सर लोगों ने कहा है कि फ़ोटोजेनिक है। उसके माने बहुत हो सकते हैं। एक तो ये कि मुझे बहुत ज़्यादा फ़िक्र नहीं है कि तस्वीर खिंच रही है कि नहीं। फ़िक्र होती है तो आदमी बनने को तैयार हो जाता है, चेहरा बना लें और उससे असल में बिगड़ जाता है, बजाय बनने के, क्योंकि वो मामूली चेहरा नहीं रहता। और दूसरा क्या आपका सवाल था?

चौधरी : कार्टून्स के बारे में?

नेहरूजी : कार्टून्स के बारे में क्या? बहुत सारे — हर तरह के कार्टून्स होते हैं। कार्टून्स से आदमी कोई बह नहीं जाता। कोई अच्छे होते हैं, कोई बुरे होते हैं, कोई निकम्मे होते हैं, तरह-तरह के होते हैं। कोई खास कार्टून्स पर...

चौधरी : क्रिटिसिज़्म के तौर पर जो होते हैं?

नेहरूजी : क्रिटिसिज़्म के तौर पर भी हर क्रिस्म के होते हैं। एक तमीज़दार क्रिटिसिज़्म, एक बदतमीज़ी का। अब ज़ाहिर है बदतमीज़ी का है तो अच्छा नहीं लगता।

चौधरी : कभी आपको अकेलापन महसूस होता है? तब आप क्या करते हैं?

नेहरूजी : जैसी ज़िन्दगी मेरी है उसमें अकेलापन एक माने में नहीं रहता है, क्योंकि मैं किसी-न-किसी काम में फँसा रहता हूँ। चुनांचे ये सोचने की मुझे ज़रूरत नहीं रहती कि मैं क्या करूँ? और कोशिश करता हूँ कि थोड़ा-सा वक़्त रोज़ निकल आये आध घण्टा, पौन घण्टा, कुछ मामूली अपने काम, मामूली काम से बिलकुल अलग हो के कुछ पढ़ने का। तो मेरे लिए तो हमेशा खाना खाली है। जहाँ भी ज़रा-सी मुझे फुर्सत मिलती है, मैं कुछ कर सकता हूँ, भूल के अपने मामूली काम को। उस ढंग के अकेलेपन ने मुझे कुछ परेशान नहीं किया। यों किसी क्रदर हर एक शख्स दुनिया में अकेला रहता है।

चौधरी : फिर भी पढ़ने के अलावा सोचने को भी तो आपको . . .

नेहरूजी : सोचना? पढ़ना और सोचना — ये सब बातें करीब-करीब साथ होती हैं।

चौधरी : सार्वजनिक जीवन में साथियों के अलावा आपके कोई निजी मित्र हैं? हैं तो कौन? किदवई थे, डॉ. महमूद हैं?

नेहरूजी : जी हाँ, सब हैं। और भी होंगे, यहाँ और दूसरे मुल्कों में। लेकिन ज़्यादा ताल्लुकात रहते नहीं कि इतनी दोस्ती हो। मिलना-जुलना उन्हीं से होता है जो काम के दायरे में आते हैं। इसलिए कम हो जाते हैं सम्बन्ध। कभी-कभी नज़र आ जायँ, मिल लें।

चौधरी : आपको फूलों का, खासकर लाल गुलाब का शौक क्यों है? क्या उसके पीछे कोई व्यक्तिगत घटना है?



नेहरूजी : नहीं, कोई घटना नहीं है। मुझे याद नहीं मैंने कब उसको शुरू किया, क्योंकि बहुत बरस से है, कम-से-कम पन्द्रह-बीस बरस से। शायद मैंने कभी लगा लिया हो। और कुछ ये कि हमारी सारी पोशाक सफ़ेद खादी की इस क़दर सादी रहती थी कि रंग देने के लिए, कुछ थोड़ा-सा आँखों में रंग नज़र आये, मैंने कभी लगा लिया, अच्छा लगा। वो सिलसिला बँठ गया।

चौधरी : आपको कभी फ़ुर्सत मिलती है, तब आपको क्या करने का शौक है?

नेहरूजी: हाँ, फ़ुर्सत में मुझे कोई-न-कोई काम...आम तौर से थका होता हूँ तो मैं तो आराम से बैठ के या लेट के भी पढ़ने लगता हूँ। कोई किताब हुई, दो-चार किताब मेरे पास रहती हैं जिनको मैं पढ़ना चाहता हूँ।

चौधरी : किस क्रिस्म की?

नेहरूजी: क्रिस्म तो बहुत तरह की हैं। हर क्रिस्म की, कोई ख़ास उसमें नहीं हैं। लेकिन सब में ज़्यादा मुझे दिलचस्पी तो इस वक़्त ऐसी किताबों में है, जो कि मिली-जुली होती हैं — आजकल की साइन्स, फ़लसफ़ा, आजकल की दुनिया [को] समझना, किधर दुनिया जा रही है, इस क्रिस्म की किताबें जो हों।

चौधरी : आने वाली पीढ़ियाँ आपको किस रूप में याद करें, तो आपको अच्छा लगेगा — आज़ादी का सिपाही, राजनीतिज्ञ, शान्ति का दूत, लेखक, विचारक या रचनात्मक कार्यकर्ता?

नेहरूजी: इस बारे में मैंने राय दी थी एक दफ़े मद्रास की पब्लिक मीटिंग में। मैंने अंग्रेज़ी में कहा था कि मुझे इस बात की बहुत फ़िक्र नहीं कि मुझे याद करे कोई। जब एक सिलसिला ख़तम हो गया तो ख़ामखाह किसी और के दिमाग़ पर बोझा क्यों पड़े? लेकिन अगर मेरी कोई याद करता है तो इस ढंग से करे कि — अंग्रेज़ी में कह देता हूँ — “ही वॉज़ ए परसन।” भूल गया। अल्फ़ाज़ मुझे याद नहीं। ऐसा था कि “हू वॉज़ इन लव विद इंडिया ऐण्ड दि इण्डियन पीपल। और उन्होंने, इण्डियन पीपल, [ने] अपनी मुहब्बत ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा उसको दी।” ये कहा था।

चौधरी : आप कौन सी भाषाएँ जानते हैं?

नेहरूजी: मैं तो बहुत कम भाषाएँ जानता हूँ। कुछ अंग्रेज़ी, कुछ हिन्दी, कुछ टूटी-फूटी फ़्रेंच। बस।

चौधरी : उर्दू?

नेहरूजी: उर्दू से मतलब मैं कोई बोलता-चालता हूँ। लेकिन मैं उर्दू साहित्य से वाकिफ़ नहीं हूँ। बोलना-चालना, थोड़ा-सा पढ़ लेना और बात है, लेकिन आदत नहीं ज़्यादा पढ़ने की। हल्का पढ़ना पड़ता है, तेज़ी से नहीं। आदत नहीं रहती न, आँख दौड़ाने को, वो नहीं रहती।

चौधरी : लैटिन वगैरा?

नेहरूजी: लैटिन वगैरा स्कूल की पढ़ी हुई हैं। यों तो कुछ संस्कृत भी पढ़ी, लैटिन भी पढ़ी। उसका एक ज़रा असर दिमाग़ पर तो होता है। कुछ जर्मन भी पढ़ी है। सब थोड़ी-थोड़ी स्कूल की पढ़ी हुई चीज़ें हैं।

चौधरी : आप भी गाँधीजी की तरह शरीर-श्रम पर ज़ोर देते हैं। वो तो कम-से-कम चरखा रोज़ चलाते थे। आप रोज़ क्या मेहनत हाथ-पैरों की करते हैं?

नेहरूजी: बहुत कम करता हूँ। कभी-कभी कर लूँ थोड़ा-सा, लेकिन कम। अफ़सोस की बात है कि बहुत कम करता हूँ।

चौधरी : क्या करते हैं आप, जब करते हैं?

नेहरूजी: यानी कभी-कभी तो मैं चरखा भी चलाता था, पर बहुत कम हो गया है। उस तरह का हाथ का श्रम, मैनुअल लेबर मुझे पसन्द है, वो बाग़ वगैरा में काम करना, खोदना। वो बहुत पसन्द है। लेकिन इस वक़्त मुझे वक़्त नहीं मिलता। आजकल दौड़-धूप में ज़िन्दगी निकल जाती है।

चौधरी : श्री गोविन्दवल्लभ पन्त में आपको क्या विशेष गुण मालूम होते हैं?

नेहरूजी: मैं आपको औरों के निस्वत क्या राय दूँ? लोगों के निस्वत। ये तो माने यही हैं कि मैं उनका तारीफ़ कर दूँ, ठीक है। लेकिन कोई माने नहीं।

चौधरी : कुछ विशेष बातें लोगों में होती हैं।

नेहरूजी: हाँ, होती तो है, खास होती है। एक तो, ज़ाहिर है पन्तजी काफ़ी ऊँचे मामूली लोगों से- मतलब मामूली भीड़ का नहीं कह रहा हूँ ऊँचे लोगों में ऊँचे हैं। उनमें बहुत धैर्य है। वो



आम तौर से बह नहीं जाते गुस्से से। गुस्सा हो तो भी नज़र नहीं आता। चुनांचे एक ये ताक़त होती है इन्सान में, बह नहीं जाना, सोच-समझ के बात कहना। ये बहुत काफ़ी है। और बहुत तेज़ दिमाग़ है। तो दोनों का जोड़ बहुत माकूल चीज़ है।

चौधरी : बहुत कल्चर्ड भी मालूम होते हैं। एक दफ़े एक घटना हुई। कोई बात मुझसे ज़रा उनका अप्रिय कहनी थी। तो उन्होंने प्राइवेट सेक्रेटरी को वहाँ से उठा दिया किसी बहाने से। उसके बाद कहा, भाई, ये बात तुम्हारी ठीक नहीं। बस, एक बात और पूछना है। हिन्दी जानने वालों के साथ अंग्रेज़ी के बजाय राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में चिट्ठी-पत्री करने में खुद आपको क्या दिक्कत है?

नेहरूजी: मुझे सब में बड़ी दिक्कत ये है कि मैं ख़त अपने डिक्टेट करता हूँ, बहुत कम हाथों से लिखता हूँ। हिन्दी में भी कभी-कभी कराता हूँ। लेकिन एक तो ये कि उसमें समय ज़्यादा लगता है, क्योंकि हिन्दी में कोई ऐसा मज़मून जिसमें मुझे बहुत सफ़ाई से राय देनी हो, बहुत कठिनाई पड़ती है लफ़ज़ ढूँढ़ने में बिल्कुल बराबर के। दूसरा ये कि हालाँकि मेरे पास अच्छे टाइपिस्ट वगैरह हैं, सुस्त पड़ जाता है काम हिन्दी में, काम फ़ौरन सुस्त पड़ जाता है। उसके साथ टाइपिंग वगैरह हर चीज़ सुस्त है। इसमें कुछ तो मेरा ख़याल है कि हिन्दी टाइपिंग के अक्षर ही कुछ ऐसे हैं। लेकिन कुछ ये भी है कि हमारे हिन्दी टाइपिस्ट वगैरह अभी उतना अच्छा हिन्दी में नहीं कर सकते जितना कि अंग्रेज़ी का सीखा है, ज़्यादा किया है।

[Translation begins:

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you prefer democracy to socialism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot perceive any difference between the two and I think that there can be no real democracy unless there is socialism too. It remains incomplete.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you think there is complete democracy in the United States?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes, they have complete political democracy. In a sense there is economic democracy too, to a large extent; but socialism means economic democracy.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you ever think about your successor? If not, what is the harm in it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: These things cannot be done. They do not work in a democratic structure. You will find many examples of the successor being groomed and even of cases where the candidate was not of any great stature or influence. That involves taking a certain mutual risk. An atmosphere has to be created in which the people can be groomed. But if you pick upon an individual it becomes disadvantageous for him; and perhaps, the effort may be wasted, for who knows whether he will be approved or not

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What was the happiest occasion in your life and the saddest?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It remains to be seen as to what happiness and sadness mean. It is difficult to answer because happiness is not only physical but mental. Sometimes there is sadness in the midst of happiness or vice-versa. So, it is difficult to answer this question. But I think when, how shall I put it, there is no dichotomy between one's thinking and practice, then life seems complete. It cannot be called happiness. It is something bigger than that or if you like less than that. That is fulfilment. And the greater the distance between them, the more it becomes non-fulfilment and sadness.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: No, I had asked with something specific in mind; like the coming of freedom or some such thing.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are many incidents. The coming of freedom was a happy occasion. There is no doubt about it. But along with it came dreadful incidents which occurred in the aftermath of the partition.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Have you ever realised that you have an extremely photogenic face? How do you like the idea? What is your reaction to the Cartoons which are published about you?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I express an opinion about my face? People have often said that it is photogenic, which can have several meanings. For one thing, I am not terribly bothered about being photographed or not. Those who are bothered often try to pose which spoils the entire effect, because then the expression does not remain normal. Now what was your other question?

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: About cartoons.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What about cartoons? There can be different kinds of



cartoons. You cannot get carried away by cartoons. Some are good, some bad, some useless. There are all kinds. On some special cartoon...

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What about the ones which are critical in nature?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Even the critical ones can be of different kinds. One can be civilised criticism, another ill-mannerly. Now it is obvious that I do not like the latter kind.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you ever feel lonely? What do you do then?

Jawaharlal Nehru: In a life like the one I have, loneliness has no meaning, because I am always busy with something or the other. Therefore, I have no need to think about what to do. I try, whenever I can set apart a half hour or so from my day-to-day working, to read a little. So, for me there is always room for more. Whenever I get a little leisure, I can do something, forgetting my usual tasks. In that sense, I have not been bothered by that sort of loneliness. Although, every person in the world is lonely to some extent.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Even so, apart from reading, you must be thinking...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Thinking? Reading and thinking are done almost together.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Apart from the colleagues in public life, do you have any private friends? Who are they? Kidwai? Dr. Mahmud?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh! Yes, all of them. There must be others, here as well as in other countries. But they are not very intimate friendships. I meet mostly those who come into contact with me during the course of my work. So contacts grow less. We meet sometimes.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Why are you fond of flowers; particularly red roses? Is there some personal incident behind it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, nothing like that. I do not know when I started putting a rose on my lapel. I have been doing so at least for the last fifteen to twenty years. I may have done it to add a touch of colour to our simple dress of white khadi. And the habit continued.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What do you like to do in your leisure time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Generally I am tired so I like to lie down and read. I always have a few books at my side which I want to read.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What sort?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They are of many kinds. There is nothing special. But I am very fond of reading books on modern science, philosophy and books about the current events in the world and where we are going, and so on.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: How would you like to be remembered by the coming generations—a soldier of freedom, politician, ambassador of peace, writer, thinker or creative worker?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had once expressed my views about this in Madras, at a public meeting. I had said, in English, that I was not very anxious about whether anybody would remember me. Once a process is over, why should a burden be inflicted on someone else's mind? But if anybody were to think of me, I would like him to do so as follows: "He was a person (I have forgotten the words) who was in love with India and the Indian people, and they have given him of their love in an abundant measure." This is what I had said.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Which languages do you know?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know very few languages, some English, some Hindi, a little broken French. That is all.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: And Urdu?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I can speak Urdu after a fashion, but I am not familiar with Urdu literature. I read a little but am not in the habit of reading much Urdu. I have to read slowly because I am not in the habit of it

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What about Latin, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I learnt Latin in school just as I learnt a little Sanskrit too. That does have an impact on the mind. I learnt a little German too. I learnt a smattering of all these in school.



Ram Narayan Chaudhary: Do you also lay stress on manual labour like Gandhi ji? He, at least, used to spin the charkha every day. What physical work do you do every day?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do very little of that. I do it very occasionally, which is regrettable.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What do you do?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I used to spin the charkha, but now it is very infrequent. I like that sort of manual labour, gardening, digging, etc. But I do not get any time now. Nowadays life is full of hustle and bustle.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: What are the special qualities that you found in Shri Govind Ballabh Pant?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What should I say about other people? It would mean that I should sing their praises. All right. But it has no meaning.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: There are special qualities in people.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there are. One is, obviously, that Pandit ji is not one of a crowd. He is a man of a very high quality. He has great patience. He does not get carried away by anger. Even when he is angry, he does not show it. This is a great strength in a human being, not to get carried away but to be calm and sensible. Then he has a very sharp intellect; so, the combination of the two is a great thing.

Ram Narayan Chaudhary: He seems very cultured, too. There was an incident once. He had to say something unpleasant to me. So he sent away his private secretary on some pretext. Then he told me that what I was saying was not right.

I want to ask you one more thing. What is the difficulty you personally face in corresponding in the national language, Hindi, instead of English?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The greatest difficulty is that I dictate my letters. I seldom write by hand. I do dictate letters sometimes in Hindi. But, for one thing, it takes longer because I find it difficult to find the right words in Hindi when I have to express my views clearly on some subject. Secondly, though I have good Hindi typists, the speed is slow. So, in Hindi everything becomes slower.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I think partly it is because the letters of the Hindi script are like that. But partly it is also because we do not have as good typists in Hindi as we do in English yet. They are more competent in English as.

Translation ends.]



## II. POLITICS

### (a) Indian National Congress

#### 5. To H.C. Heda: Proposed Visit to UK<sup>1</sup>

The UK High Commissioner<sup>2</sup> saw the Congress President, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, some days ago and conveyed a message to her from the Commonwealth Relations office in London. This message was to the effect that the UK Government would like to invite a senior Congress member to come to England to watch the elections. They would pay his entire expenses on travel, residence and movement in the U.K. and would give him every facility to watch various aspects of the election and to go to all the three party Headquarters, etc.

2. This message originally came before the election date in the U.K. had been fixed.<sup>3</sup> Yesterday it was repeated, and a letter containing some kind of a provisional programme was sent to Shrimati Gandhi. A copy of this letter from the U.K. High Commission is enclosed.

3. On my advice being asked, I agreed to the acceptance of this invitation, and the Congress President has invited Shri H.C. Heda, Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament to visit the U.K. for this purpose. He is a senior Member of Parliament and is much respected.

4. Shri H.C. Heda has agreed to go. He has been asked to go to the U.K. High Commission to settle details. He will also see you and take your advice.

5. You might write to our High Commission in London about him. I am sending a brief note to our High Commissioner there.<sup>4</sup> Shri Heda will visit our High Commission as soon as he gets there and be guided by their advice.

6. Shrimati Gandhi is writing about him to Mr. Nye Bevan,<sup>5</sup> so that the Labour Party people might not think that our representative is going merely for the Conservative Party.

7. The UK Government have suggested that our representative might stay in England for six weeks. I do not think this is necessary. He can come back a few days after the elections are over.

1. Note [not clear to whom], 13 September 1959. Also copied to Indira Gandhi. File No. G-1, 1959, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Malcolm Macdonald.

3. The General Election took place on 8 October 1959.

4. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

5. Deputy Leader, British Labour Party.

8. Shri Heda will not require any considerable sum in the way of foreign exchange. But some arrangements might be made for a small sum, say £ 15/- or so.

## **6. To Partap Singh Kairon: "Heavy Expenditure" on Party Meetings<sup>6</sup>**

September 22, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

On return to Delhi today, I received your letter of September 18th.<sup>7</sup> I do not particularly like big social functions being organised at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting.<sup>8</sup> But, if you think it necessary, you may do so. There is, however, one important consideration. I do not at all like the idea of the Punjab Government organising these big dinners. This is sure to be objected to, and there will be no adequate answer to that objection. Why should the Punjab Government incur this heavy expenditure on a Party meeting? I think you must avoid this kind of thing.

Apart from all this, dinners of hundreds of persons are objectionable on principle. One can neither meet people nor talk to them at such functions. An evening party is preferable, although even that need not be on such a big scale.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **7. To Morarji Desai: AICC Meeting and Foreign Visits<sup>9</sup>**

September 30, 1959

My dear Morarji,

During the last few days, I have received two letters from you, both from London. You have told me in these letters of your visits to Geneva and Paris, and I have read these accounts with great interest. Thank you for them.

6. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab. File No. 8/115/59-PMS.

7. Kairon proposed two dinner parties, one on 26 September for the AICC President and the CWC, with 100-120 guests, and the other on the 27th for about 700 persons.

8. For details of the Chandigarh session of the AICC see items 8-14.

9. Letter to the Union Finance Minister.



I should have liked to write to you more fully, but the odd jobs of life pursue me and prevent me from having any leisure moment. I have just come back from Chandigarh where we had the A.I.C.C. meeting.<sup>10</sup> On the whole, it was a successful meeting, although the Indian Press, as you know, now-a-days is bent on running the Congress and the Government down. Personally, I was rather satisfied with the Chandigarh meetings. In another day or so, I am going to Rajasthan and, from there, to Bombay and Poona. I suppose I shall have to say something in these places about the future of the Bombay State. In spite of my wish to have this matter explored fully before decisions were taken, the current of events is pushing us along. At Chandigarh, we appointed a committee consisting of a number of persons from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bombay City and Vidarbha, to look into this matter.<sup>11</sup> There was no discussion at the A.I.C.C. about it.

Pantji has gone to Srinagar for a week or ten days.<sup>12</sup> I am glad he has done so. The change is bound to do him good after his long confinement. Life otherwise is fairly quiet here. I have been particularly occupied by matters concerning our dispute with China about the border. I have sent a long and detailed reply to Chou En-lai's last letter. We shall issue this to the Press etc. within a few days.<sup>13</sup> An attempt has been made to give our case more fully than previously. There is considerable excitement still in the country over this issue, which is natural. The Communist Party's last resolution was a singularly futile affair and has been much criticised by nearly all sections in the country excepting, of course, the Communists and their friends.<sup>14</sup>

My visit to Afghanistan and Iran had no great political significance.<sup>15</sup> Inevitably it had some political aspects. I enjoyed the visit in spite of it being

10. On 26-28 September 1959.

11. See item 1, fn 6.

12. G.B. Pant, Union Minister of Home Affairs, went to Srinagar on 28 September to chair the North Zone Council meeting and to inaugurate the Kashmir's first medical college in Srinagar. But, he returned to Delhi on 2 October 1959 on medical advice. See *The Times of India*, 29 September 1959 and *The Hindustan Times*, 3 October 1959.

13. See item 94 in this volume.

14. *The Tribune* of 26 September reported that the Central Executive Committee of CPI in its resolution on "Indo-China Relations" on 25 September at Calcutta stated that: "the Central Executive Committee takes the opportunity to reiterate emphatically that our party stands with the rest of the people for the territorial integrity of India and it shall be second to none in safeguarding it. But the Committee is confident that China can never commit aggression against India, just as our country has no intention of aggression against China."

15. For details of his visit, see items 108-115.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



very tiring as the programmes were heavy. To my surprise and disappointment, I found both these places very warm, almost as warm as Delhi. Afghanistan, though rather primitive, impressed me with a certain basic strength of the people. They are a tough lot and they are making progress, though slowly. On the whole, I liked them. Iran or, rather, Tehran, was much more flashy, but I had no sense of stability there. Possibly, in no country is the difference between a few rich and a great many poor quite so marked as in Iran.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (b) Speeches at the AICC

## 8. Communist Violence, Planning, Growth<sup>16</sup>

### “‘NO TRUCE WITH REDS’: COMMUNISTS’ BEHAVIOUR IN WEST BENGAL ASSEMBLY CONDEMNED”

Naveen Nagar  
Sept. 26

Prime Minister Nehru to-day came out strongly against the Communists for their recent behaviour in the West Bengal Assembly and said that so far as he was concerned, there could be no truce with such people.

Mr. Nehru in his speech at the A.I.C.C. recalled the violent events in Kerala and the hurling of shoes in the West Bengal Assembly. He was emphatic that the Communist Party was responsible for the ugly incidents in the Bengal Assembly. But he said that what happened in the Assembly was a disgrace to Bengal and to India. It was an intolerable situation that even inside a Legislative Assembly people misbehaved without restraint.

“What does this mean?” Mr. Nehru went on. “It means that they cannot meet you in arguments and, therefore, they make a row in the streets and even that is not enough and so they come to Parliament and have a row. That is not democracy. There is going to be no planning if there is going to be shoe-throwing at each other. What are we talking about planning and strategy of planning when people try to break their heads by bad behaviour?”

16. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 26 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 27 September 1959.

"So far as the life of the nation and life of democracy is concerned", Mr. Nehru declared, "I want to make it perfectly clear that while we shall maintain democratic methods in every way and we shall give every opportunity to every party, we will not tolerate this kind of thing happening, whatever the consequences".

"I am amazed and surprised that in Bengal, these people who threw shoes and microphones did not even apologise for their misbehaviour when they came back. With such people there can be no truce so far as I am concerned", Mr. Nehru declared amidst cheers.

"I do not for the moment confine this criticism to any particular group but I think to some extent we may all be guilty of it drifting towards that in our language, etc. We saw what happened in Kerala where an atmosphere was created of a very considerable incipient violence and of groups fighting groups. We see all kinds of agitation taking place when politics is reduced here in India to demonstrations and so-called morchas. Punjab knows them and elsewhere instead of normal democratic processes we resort to these methods, and it has come to this that only recently in the city of Calcutta, in the West Bengal Assembly, right in the middle of the Assembly shoes were hurled at each other."

Mr. Nehru referred to the assassination of Mr. Bandaranaike and said he was speaking with a burden in his mind because of the death of "a friend of long standing" who had shouldered heavy burdens in office. They had cooperated with each other in many ways and were looking forward to meeting in the near future. They had agreed to meet in Colombo for an "Economic Bandung Conference" but Mr. Bandaranaike was gone. However, Mr. Nehru added, the work of the world had to be carried on whatever happened in Ceylon or in India.

### REPORT OF PLANNING SUB-COMMITTEE NEHRU'S VIEW

Mr. Nehru then referred to the report of the Planning Sub-Committee and said it would be easy for anybody to criticise this or that sentence of the report. He could himself point out many sentences in it which he would have written otherwise and places where he would have placed the emphasis a little less or a little more. But that would be a poor way of looking at such a report. Since he was not technically a member of the Committee although he was invited to its meetings, he could speak about it without any inhibition. It was obvious everyone of its ten or fifteen members was not hundred per cent exactly of the same opinion. That did not happen among thinking people. It meant that after plenty of discussion, an average was found. There was some broad agreement. So this broad sweep of the approach was to be seen.



Mr. Nehru said a report of this kind could not be an inflexible document. Taking the instance of the size of the Plan, Mr. Dhebar had said in reply to Mr. Hanumanthaiya<sup>17</sup> that the size of the Plan was Rs. 10,000 crores. "This means we should like it to be Rs. 10,000 crores. We think it is necessary and we hope it will be 10,000 crores. But obviously we have not got Rs. 10,000 crores in a bank. There are uncertainties, and we have to adapt ourselves to these uncertainties if they are to evolve into probabilities and certainties. We may have to vary some parts of the Plan here and there. It is hardly possible for a committee like this to make a list of resources. Ultimately, it has to be done by the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission".

The broad thing about this report, Mr. Nehru added, was that it indicated the lines of thinking the lines of basic approach and the strategy of approach in which, normally speaking, there would be changes.

Mr. Nehru then spoke of the need to take the people into confidence about any proposals and convince them of their correctness. He said that the Congress represented the people of India who were rooted in the past. To some extent they had come out of the past but they were rooted in the past. So as a great organisation "we are trying rather painfully to adapt ourselves to the present so that we might face the future. This is a painful operation, this process of adapting or thinking from traditional ways to modern ways".

Mr. Nehru said some people criticised the report whether it was from the professorial chair, or the editorial chair, or somewhere else. They said: "This is vague idealism, you must be practical".

"What is practical?" Mr. Nehru asked and added: "To hand over the country to a few big rich men, hand over the country to private enterprise? That is the idea of some people of being practical. But I feel that apart from idealism, this is not the way to make progress. If that course is adopted, we will get short shrift. Others say "You don't go far enough." Many things they say are theoretically acceptable, but the fact remains that we have to carry hundreds of millions of people with us. We are not a sect. We are persons responsible for the future of India. We are persons who can only function through the democratic apparatus, thereby carrying millions with us.

## STANDARD OF LIVING

Mr. Nehru stressed that it was necessary to take to technology in order to raise the standard of living of the people. Of course, he said, one must guard against

17. Congress MLA from Mysore.

its harmful effects when higher technique was adopted. But it should be realised that the fundamental thing before the country was to pull itself out of the traditional social structure into a relatively modern country. In this connection he would like to make one point. "Mr. Rajagopalachari has got a medley of companions in his Swatantra Party and it is difficult to know what their stand is. But broadly speaking he stands for the perpetuation of the traditional system, leaving the big industrialists to go ahead and do what they like. Ultimately, they will change the system but on a different plane than what I would like it to be. But I don't see how by means of that traditional system you can ever get rid of the problem of poverty. Therefore, I cannot imagine how any person can base any approach on merely perpetuating the traditional structure."

Mr. Nehru then said that even big industrialists had come to two conclusions in line with the Congress. Firstly, they talked about Rs. 10,000 crores as being the outlay in the Third Plan. Also they talked about laying the stress on heavy industries. The main difference was that they wanted a great part of Rs. 10,000 crores to be handed over to them. They wanted the outlay as they would like. Of course behind this main difference there was a multitude of differences. Nevertheless, they had been driven by the compulsion of events to accept the things which the Congress had been saying for some time past.

Mr. Nehru said that India had done remarkably well in recent years. It had reached the stage of take-off from an under-developed to a developed economy. Among undeveloped countries, India occupied the topmost place being on the verge of this take-off. China too had progressed, though in a different way.

Later speaking in Hindi, Mr. Nehru called upon the people to join hands in launching an all-out war against poverty and unemployment. Poverty, he pointed out, could not be eradicated by slogans but hard work and by employing science and technology.

He said: "We have to train lakhs of engineers and scientists to help the economic development of the country. We want to use science and technology not for waging wars but for economic development." He said India had to learn many things from other countries but "we should learn good things and not the cold war technique."



## 9. Significance of Planning<sup>18</sup>

### “PURPOSE OF PLANNING: NEHRU EXPLAINS SIGNIFICANCE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL”

Naveen Nagar

Sept. 27

Prime Minister Nehru to-day declared that the law of the jungle where the strong preyed on the weak could never be allowed to have free play in the economic sphere in India.

Mr. Nehru, who was rounding off the discussion on the AICC Sub-Committee's report on planning, said that the English saying “Nature red in tooth and claw” could not be allowed to govern the actions of the “higher animalman” in the world of to-day.

The Prime Minister said that free enterprise and laissez faire had been controlled even in capitalist countries to prevent men with “sharper claws and fiercer teeth” from preying on the weaker men, whose claws and teeth were feeble.

Mr. Nehru said that strong and powerful men in the world where the capitalist economy reigned supreme had had their claws trimmed and teeth blunted to a considerable extent through governmental action. “It is for this reason that we are undertaking planning to give equal opportunity to all, the weak and the strong, those with sharp claws and fierce teeth and others who had smaller claws and feeble teeth.”

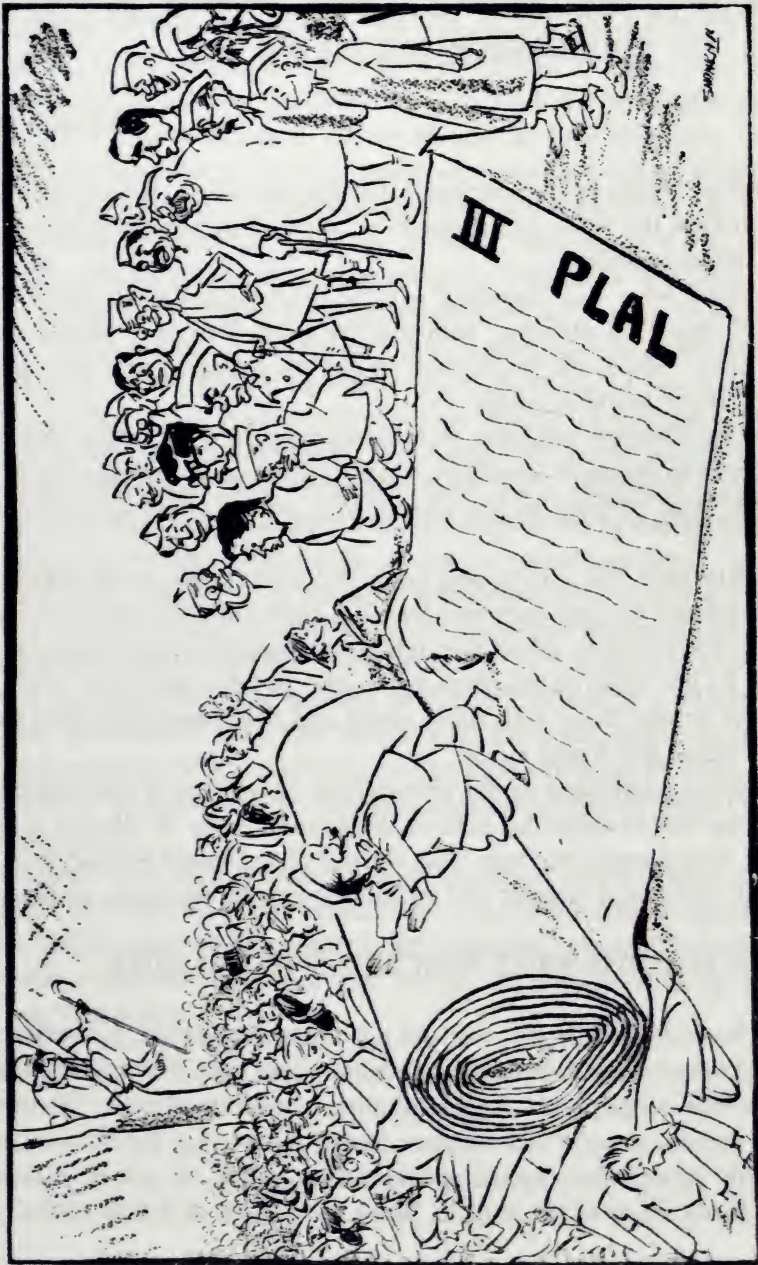
In an obvious reference to the protagonists of unfettered free enterprise, Mr. Nehru said that in India this kind of thing could never be allowed to have full sway. It would mean that men with sharper claws would pounce upon the weak, plunder them and commit loot to build their own economic empires.

### PRIVATE ENTERPRISE MUST FUNCTION WITHIN LIMITS

Mr. Nehru, however, added that this did not mean that private enterprise and initiative had to be curbed completely, one hundred per cent. It would be allowed to function within certain limits to that initiative was not smothered. “We cannot completely prevent people with sharper brains from using their intelligence and economic power from asserting themselves. After all, power is power, whether of the brain or of the muscle. Some have more of it than others. But

18. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 27 September, 1959. From *The Hindu*, 28 September 1959.

'Our Very Best'



*The Planning Sub-committee of the Congress has submitted its report on the pattern of the 3rd Plan.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



you can give strength to the weak by creating equal opportunities for the weak. So if you leave everything to the precept of nature, then the more powerful and more cunning human beings will go forward, ride on the backs of the weak, and exploit them for self-aggrandisement. This policy would make the strong stronger, the rich richer and the poor poorer. So even in big capitalist countries, Governments have taken certain measures to control the powerful by trimming their claws and blunting their teeth."

Mr. Nehru said that the "jungle habits of animals" could not be allowed to govern human conduct. "We have to get rid of this habit more and more as it only fosters selfishness and craving for personal gain and acquisitiveness. We have to prevent this from happening."

The Prime Minister described planning as the "horoscope" of the 40-crore people of India. But this horoscope was not cast with the help of the moon and the stars but through careful husbanding of the country's resources and creating more and more opportunities for the people to go ahead.

"Our country is still poor. We have to take off, as they say, and jump over the morass of poverty."

The Prime Minister said that the most vital thing in this "take off" was building up heavy industries. Along with this, the agricultural sector had to be improved too. In a way, this was more important than even industrialisation because a prosperous agricultural economy would enable more rapid industrialisation.

Mr. Nehru said that India needed to-day four things—steel, power, heavy machine-making industry and trained personnel.

Mr. Nehru said that India had to make tremendous efforts to enter the industrial age. "This is a revolutionary thing. Society must change with the times. If we do not endeavour to bring this about, society will burst forth through its old apparel and come into its own. This is called revolution." (Cheers)

The Prime Minister said that "the report of the Planning Sub-Committee of the AICC was an outline and not the last word. The Third Five-Year Plan was being discussed two years in advance of its inception so that all points of view might be considered. After the draft was ready, it would be gone through by the Planning Commission. Then it would come before Parliament to get its final sanction. We do not want to be rigid. We would change the plan, whenever necessary, in the light of experience that we gain from time to time".

## CHANGING FACE OF INDIA

Mr. Nehru said that India was passing through a historical phase. "It is the good fortune of all of us that we are living in these times and changing the face

of India. Historians will write about this big story of India in the making. It is all the more imperative, therefore, that we do not allow petty squabbles to bog us down and sap our energies”.

The Prime Minister ridiculed the demand of a Punjabi Suba and said that it had no meaning when a “powerful neighbour” was challenging India. This was no time to talk of a Punjabi Suba or dissensions in the Congress ranks in the Punjab. These were petty things which had to be looked at in proper perspective.

## DISSIDENT GROUPS

Mr. Nehru referred to the so-called dissident groups in the Congress in various states and said that “this business should not be exaggerated”. It was a matter that should be settled by Congressmen amongst themselves.... “The trouble is that some people seem to have made it their profession to indulge in this dissident business.”

Mr. Nehru said that a proper atmosphere should be created to make the forty crores of people feel that they were marching ahead together shoulder to shoulder, in building their future. “Petty conflicts and carping criticism are of no avail. We should discuss everything in the open, as Gandhiji had said, we should not keep the sword in our hearts. It is far better to take the sword in the hand and have it out in the open, even though wielding of the sword is bad enough.”

Mr. Nehru began by referring to the superstitious nature of people and said that whenever there was an eclipse of the Moon, large numbers of people went to bathe in the Jumna to save the Moon from being swallowed by “Rahu and Ketu”. “Now the Soviet rocket has reached the Moon. I do not know what those people who bathe in the holy rivers to save the Moon from Rahu and Ketu will do now.” (Laughter)

The Prime Minister said that it was a custom in India to cast the horoscope of every child which was not an easy thing. “We are now placing before you the horoscope (Third Five Year Plan) of the 40 crores of people of India. It has not been made by studying the stars but by studying the resources of the country and the courage and determination of our people.”

Mr. Nehru said the people must remember that India had fallen and been enslaved in the past because of her own weaknesses. While Europe was going ahead by mastering new sources of power, India, remained bogged down in astrology, antediluvian ideas and obscurantism.

“We should not blame the imperial power that enslaved and ruled us for a long time. We should blame ourselves for remaining in a rut of old ideas and not changing with the times.”



## WAR AGAINST POVERTY

Mr. Nehru said that after the attainment of complete independence, India had to wage a war against poverty. This had to be done in a planned way. "If we leave people to do what they like, we may progress a little through individual enterprise and effort. But will we reach our goal? You look at animals in the jungle. It is the law of nature that the animal triumphs which is most ferocious and powerful. The weaker animals try to hide themselves from it and run away in fear. The most ferocious and bloodthirsty animal pursues and pounces upon the weaker animals and devours them. As the English saying goes "nature red in tooth and claw."

Mr. Nehru said that all people could not be made equal but they must be given equal opportunities. In India hundreds of thousands of people especially in the villages did not have opportunities to have education. "We have to find new cures for these old ills. The remedies of old are of no avail today. We have to understand the present-day situation in the world and India. Its old remedies have no relation to present-day conditions".

Referring to socialism, Mr. Nehru said that socialism was the "offspring" of the industrial revolution. When new wealth was produced, the problem arose of its distribution. The common people before the industrial revolution patiently accepted their fate and their poverty and suffering. But it was no longer so after the industrial revolution. "We are passing through revolutionary times. In four or five years, the Soviet Union might send human beings to the moon. The world is changing and is on the threshold of an atomic revolution. We have to look at every problem in the context of the modern world."

Mr. Nehru said that socialism did not mean distribution of poverty. Socialism aimed at producing more and at the same time ensuring that the new wealth produced did not remain in a few pockets alone.

Mr. Nehru said that the real factor behind the success of capitalism in America and communism in Russia was the "big machine and the knowledge to run it."

## NEED FOR MORE ENGINEERS

The Prime Minister said that in India only the big machine could help the people go forward. The people had to be trained also. There were one lakh engineers in India today. Their number had to be increased to three lakhs in the coming years. "The engineer today has become more important than people like lawyers, who have dominated the scene during the past."

Mr. Nehru said that along with big machines, adequate stress had also to

be laid on small industries, cottage industries and village industries.

Referring to cooperative farming, Mr. Nehru said that first the service cooperatives would be set up.

This would require trained people to make it a success. Cooperative farming also could not be undertaken without trained personnel. "Some people get frightened whenever cooperative farming is mentioned. But they must know that it will be undertaken only if peasants volunteer to accept it. It cannot be done by compulsion."

Mr. Nehru concluded his speech amidst cheers by calling upon people to rise above their petty squabbles and work in a determined cooperative way to build the new India.

## 10. No Dictatorship<sup>19</sup>

NAVEEN NAGAR,  
Sept. 27

### "NEHRU: I HAVE NO NADIRSHAHI POWERS"

Pandit Nehru said today that although he was Prime Minister of India, he could not issue "Nadirshahi" (dictatorial) edicts.

Pandit Nehru who was addressing the AICC here said: "I am Prime Minister of India in Delhi. You may think this is the biggest honour, but the Government is much bigger than I am. Sometimes even I have to put up with certain decisions which I don't like. I cannot have 'Nadirshahi hukum'. Even a Nadirshah cannot do it at the present day. I have to put up with the majority decision of the fourteen members of my Cabinet who have different opinions on different subjects."

The Prime Minister added: "Do you think that everybody says 'yes' to me? It is not so and some-times the Cabinet's decisions are against my own opinions. But they have to be accepted."

19. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 27 September, 1959. From the *National Herald*, 29 September 1959.



## 11. Public Sector and Growth<sup>20</sup>

### “THE PRIVATE SECTOR NEHRU EXPLAINS LIMITATIONS ROLE OF STATE TRADING GOVT.’S POLICY DEFENDED”

Naveen Nagar

Sept. 28

Prime Minister Nehru said here to-day he wanted to give every opportunity to the initiative of private enterprise provided it did “not throttle” the public or public interest.

Intervening for a second time in the debate on the report of the Congress Sub-Committee on Planning at the AICC session here, Mr. Nehru made it clear, however, that it was not right for any country to entrust to private enterprise “areas of strategic importance”. But he would like to see in India hundreds and thousands of small industries growing in the private sector.

The Prime Minister, in the course of his one-hour speech, also challenged criticisms about state trading voiced on grounds of principle and said that if there was one thing in India which was absolutely and hundred per cent justified, it was state trading in foodgrains.

Mr. Nehru said the Government might be blamed for the rising food prices but the fact of the matter was that in a vital thing like food the situation was exploited by the big traders and small traders to the detriment of public good.

### SOCIALIST APPROACH TO PLAN

Emphasizing the socialist approach to the plan, the Prime Minister said the capitalist or private enterprise approach was no longer good enough for underdeveloped countries because it took too much time and meant suppression of individuals in large numbers and no people would put up with it.

“You cannot produce conditions in India to-day which led to the capitalist growth in Western Europe or America. It cannot be done because people will not tolerate it”, Mr. Nehru said.

The Prime Minister variously described the plan prepared by the sub-committee as a “grand attack on a powerful enemy”, “a challenge to the future”,

20. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 28 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 29 September 1959.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Yes, I've put by a little sugar and food grains for emergency.*

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 28 SEPTEMBER 1959)



“a crusade and a pilgrimage” and said, “We have put forward this challenge and let others come and give us a better plan and we shall consider it. For the moment, here is the plan and we shall work for it”. He also asked critics to look at the plan as an integrated whole.

At the end of the Prime Minister’s speech, the AICC adopted a resolution giving its general approval to the report and enjoining Congressmen and Congress Committees to study the report and popularise it “to create the atmosphere preparatory for the undertaking of the burdens and sacrifices involved in the Third Plan. The debate on the report which had concluded yesterday was reopened again to-day when more delegates spoke on the role of the Congress in implementing the plan.

Mr. S.N. Mishra, Deputy Minister for Planning, said Congressmen must address themselves to the task of creating plan consciousness among the people. Unless about 50,000 to 60,000 Congress workers who would mean the Mandal Congress Committees were given training in the next two or three years in this task they would not be able to discharge their responsibility, he added.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF HEAVY INDUSTRIES

Mr. Nehru said the first place had to be given to the establishment of heavy industries because only then the real foundation for industrial growth and revolution could be laid. In the ultimate analysis society progressed by new forces coming into it, whether it was steel, electricity or some other force. There could be no advance except to the extent production increased through modern techniques.

The Prime Minister said that the criticism that they were concentrating on basic industries emanated often from people in the private sector because they had somewhere at the back of their heads that it was the communist way of advancing.

“It is patent”, Mr. Nehru said, “We cannot copy the hundred and fifty years of growth in England or America. We have neither the time nor the patience nor the social conditions. Indeed we cannot do it because people will not want us to do it. Therefore, we have to go in for basic industries.”

### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Mr. Nehru who spoke at some length on the controversy between the public and private sectors said that in India they had a fairly well-established and growing public sector but nevertheless, the private sector was much, vaster and bigger even now. He was, therefore, “astonished” at some people still saying or

presuming to say that the public sector in this country was not well run and trying to make out that the private sector was better.

"I would refute this charge with all my strength. I say the major public sector organisations have been a remarkable success such as no private sector organisation has achieved. It amazes me that this propaganda of the private sector should sink into the minds of the people. It is a completely wrong and false propaganda. The public sector has achieved remarkable success even from the point of view of making profits. I would not say everyone has, but in the main they have done remarkably."

Mr. Nehru said nobody had challenged the right of the private sector to start small industries. The argument came about big industries. "There are big industries in the private sector but we are not touching them, not for the love of the private sector but because we think it is not desirable to do so. We have deliberately kept a wide field for the private sector not so much to big industries as to small industries. Speaking for myself, I have not done it under pressure but I think in the present circumstances it is desirable. I want to give initiative to private enterprise provided it does not throttle the public or public interest because I want to encourage every aspect of production."

"Frankly speaking", Mr. Nehru added, "If the state takes over everything—the state has not the capacity to do it now, but I do not know ultimately what it may be able to do—I am myself terribly afraid of bureaucracy in industry. The word 'bureaucracy' is used or misused now. They talk of 'state-owned' and 'no bureaucracy' which are contradiction in terms. But I do think that there should be competition between private and public enterprises."

But, Nehru said, he did not think it was right for any country to entrust to private enterprise areas of strategic importance.

## GROWTH OF SMALL INDUSTRIES

Mr. Nehru said it was quite absurd to go on cursing the private sector all the time. They should not run it down because in India hundreds and thousands of small industries were growing up in the private sector. He would like them to be cooperative undertakings.

"Let us have an end of the argument about the public and private sectors", Mr. Nehru said, "and let us not imagine that some kind of suppression of the private sector will suddenly bring about socialism in India. It will simply bring about reduction of production in many directions. We cannot catch up. I want them to continue because it produces."

I want it to continue as an incentive, as a competition to the public sector because there is always the danger in Government undertakings becoming



complacent. But essentially, in spite of what I have said, I want the public sector to grow on all basic fields so that the economy of the country is controlled for public purposes and not for private profit."

Referring to state trading, Mr. Nehru said a "hulaballot" was raised about it and he could not quite understand the criticism. When prices rose the Government was blamed but very few persons "blame that fellow who profiteers by it."

"I cannot understand this mentality and reasoning. Government may be blamed for its mistakes and errors but the fact of the matter is that in a vital thing like food, the situation is exploited by big traders and small traders to the detriment of public good."

"If there is one thing in India which is absolutely and hundred per cent justified, it is state trading in foodgrains. Let there be no mistake about it", Mr. Nehru said amidst cheers.

If there was abundance, there was no need for these measures. "We are taking these measures because there is no abundance and to prevent exploitation by individual profiteering". He was prepared to say that they must go slow if necessary after perfecting the machinery but "what I object to is the criticism on grounds of principles—as if state trading is some kind of an evil. I challenge that statement. State trading is justified in matters of primary importance like food than anything else. It may be difficult and therefore, let us go slow. That is a different matter."

### INTEGRATED APPROACH TO PLAN

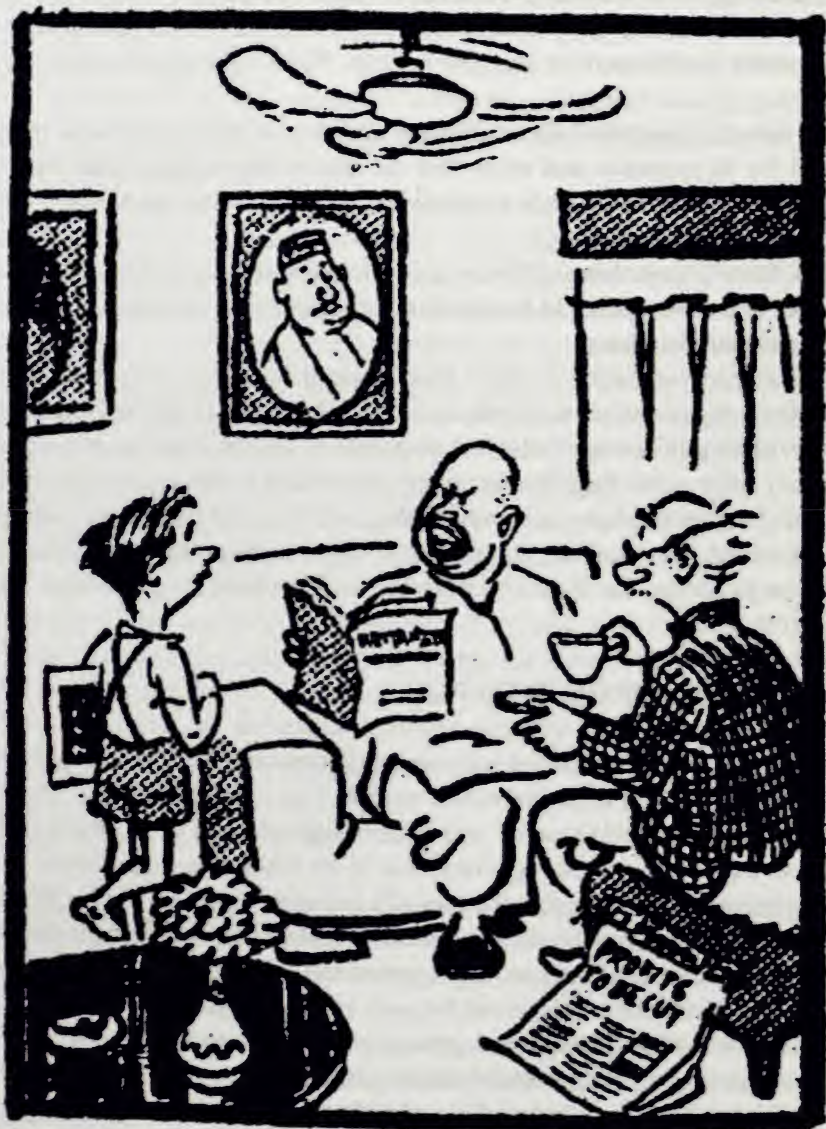
Earlier, Mr. Nehru pleaded for an integrated approach to the plan and said it should not be viewed from individual aspects like employment, etc. The plan, he said, was not a collection of odd little things and odd little advances here and there but it was something which was to be taken as a grand effort.

Replying to criticisms that the plan did not concentrate on the employment problem, Mr. Nehru said he did not want to "weaken" on the employment front. But if they concentrated only on employment and nothing else they would never even win the battle for employment because after all employment came through greater opportunities of work and greater productive work. This was possible only through modernisation and modern technology.

Mr. Nehru said the primary thing about an integrated plan was production and not employment. Employment was important but it was utterly unimportant in the context of production. It followed production and not preceded production. And production would only go up by better techniques which meant modern methods.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*What? "A business man makes 8% Profit..." ! - I asked you to do arithmetic, not read fairy tales!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 OCTOBER 1959)



Mr. Nehru said it was easy to find jobs to millions if they put an end to the railway system in India and every one travelled in horse-drawn carriages but was that social growth and social advance? "Basically, we have to get rid of this traditionalism and traditionalist way of thinking and think in terms of modern forces, science and technology".

### MEANING OF "SOCIALISM"

The Prime Minister said many people talked of socialism but he did not understand what they meant by it. It had nothing to do with social growth. Socialism must mean social growth and not perpetuation of poverty on equal level.

The conception of socialism itself, Mr. Nehru said, had undergone many changes in recent history because the society to which it belonged had itself changed. First it was called utopian socialism and later scientific socialism and there could be no scientific socialism unless industrial revolution came and brought social growth with it.

Mr. Nehru said, India had chosen socialism because if it did not adopt a socialist approach the country's changeover to an age of abundance would be delayed very considerably and would bring greater misery to the people. In fact it might bring many upsets too. They could not repeat the performance of England and America in the 19th century in India to-day. In the 19th century England there was terrible exploitation of the worker who had to work for 14 to 16 hours and in America even in the beginning of the 20th century the worker had to put in 11 hours a day but no Indian worker would to-day put up with such things.

Therefore, Mr. Nehru said, "you cannot produce conditions in India today which led to the capitalist growth in Western Europe or America. It cannot be done. People will not tolerate it. You have to seek some other way. That is one reason why the capitalist way, the approach of private enterprise is no longer good enough for underdeveloped country. It takes too much time. It means suppression of individuals in large numbers that no people will put up with today."

## 12. Aggressive China<sup>21</sup>

“Nehru Deplores ‘Aggressive Mentality’ of China”

Naveen Nagar

Sept. 28

Prime Minister Nehru, addressing the A.I.C.C. to-day after it adopted the resolution on the frontier dispute between India and China, said that the Chinese behaviour had caused a setback to him on two fronts.

First, he had always thought that the maintenance of friendly relations between India and China would be an example to the world that countries pursuing different policies and ideologies could not only co-exist but even co-operate in many matters in the external field.

It was with this view the Bandung Conference was held. But it was a matter of great sorrow for him that that approach had met with a setback.

Second, the frontier between India and China was 2,500 miles. If countries with such long borders were to look at each other with hostile eyes, it would do no good to either country. If this hostility were to last, it would be a legacy for future generations. He for one would not like to pass on that legacy. While Mr. Nehru welcomed the enthusiasm shown by the speakers and their readiness to sacrifice in the defence of the country, he would point out that if any clash occurred, it would be a tragedy for India and China as well as Asia, and “it would benefit only those who are not very friendly to the growth of Asia and Asian nations”.

“Of course it goes without saying that if any insult is offered to our country, well, we cannot tolerate it. If any aggression takes place, we have to face it and to prevent it and fight it wherever necessity arises. All these are obvious things which do not require saying”.

Mr. Nehru said, that big problems had to be dealt with not by shouting harsh words but with cool determination, because it was with “hard and united effort,” that a nation could be built up.

### ADMINISTRATION OF N.E.F.A. TERRITORY

Commenting on the merits of the border dispute, Mr. Nehru said that Free India inherited what the British Government left. India had been in actual

21. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 28 September 1959. *The Hindu*, 29 September, 1959.



possession of the disputed areas for a long time. There were difficult inaccessible mountains where people did not live. Although normal administration did not function in these areas, India was in "administrative and constructive control" of these areas. It was true that the administration was extended over these areas very gradually, because of the Government of India's decision to bring the tribal people in the NEFA area definitely under their administration. History supports India's claims and there was no such thing as a no-man's land between India and China.

Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese claim to large chunks of Indian territory was an "extraordinary demand". The very fact that this claim had been made "suddenly" came as a shock. This demand for Indian territory was extraordinary because no mention had been made of it during the last ten years. "Within these ten years, there was the treaty of 1954 (Sino-Indian treaty on the Tibet region) when we were dealing actually with frontier passes and no mention had been made of it. (Chinese claim on Indian territory). I am not raising any kind of legal plea about it or barring anybody mentioning it, but it is rather extraordinary, this type of behaviour between two countries, and if we are rather surprised and shocked over it, well, it is rather natural".

Mr. Nehru said that the "aggressive mentality" of the Chinese over the border issue had pained him. "When a great power does it (shows aggressive mentality) it may lead to certain consequences".

The Prime Minister referred to the meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev which took place at Camp David, and expressed the hope that good results would come from it.

India was not a very strong country in military sense but India was a developing country, and it so happened that "as you develop you become strong".

Mr. Nehru added: "So we are still developing and we will go strong undoubtedly. I hope and pray that when we are strong, we shall still remain humble". (Cheers).

### 13. Press in the Private Sector<sup>22</sup>

#### “A MAJOR PRIVATE SECTOR”

Naveen Nagar

Sept. 28

Mr. Nehru to-day characterised the Press in India as a major private sector and said it was not surprising that “erudite and pompous” articles were written in newspapers criticising Government’s policies.

They might be good, the Prime Minister said, speaking at the AICC session here, but “they come from the minds and mouths of the private sector”.

Mr. Nehru said he had no objection to the Press being in the private sector because what they wanted was an independent Press. Every great newspaper was run by financial corporations owned privately and it was thinking “quite honestly” in terms of the private sector.

### 14. Bhakra Dam Safe and Sound<sup>23</sup>

#### “THE BHAKRA DAM PERFECTLY SAFE—PRIME MINISTER’S IMPRESSIONS”

Naveen Nagar

Sept. 28

Prime Minister Nehru referred to his visit to Bhakra this morning in his address to the AICC on planning today and said that the dam was perfectly “sound and safe”.

The Prime Minister said that undoubtedly something big and ghastly had happened with the breaking down of the hoist chamber. “I do not know how much it is going to cost (to repair the damage) but I am quite certain about it that the dam is perfectly safe” he added.

Mr. Nehru said that flooding of the galleries would be stopped about which there was no doubt. “How long it will take to stop it, I cannot say—whether it will take days or weeks or months. But I am positive and I am quite sure that it will be stopped. It is a costly thing. Nobody can say now anything about the

22. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 28 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 29 September, 1959.

23. Report of speech, Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, 28 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 29 September 1959.



## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*No, it is not ready for official opening yet. Only some ministers are coming to see the crack in the dam*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 6 OCTOBER 1959)

cost. This is for the first time in the history of dams in the world that such a thing (breaking down of a hoist chamber) had happened. There was no precedent for that."

Mr. Nehru said that the people had to take "all disasters in their strides with a measure of faith and confidence."

Earlier the Prime Minister said that some weeks ago news had come about the "injury" to the hoist chamber which had given them a shock, as "Bhakra had become a symbol, a mighty stupendous thing being worked up by the energy and sacrifice of our own people".

"We were struck dumb by the first reports and we could hardly discuss them. But fortunately later news came that the trouble was not so bad", he said.

(c) States

(i) Bombay

## 15. To Sri Prakasa: Consultation on Bilingual State<sup>24</sup>

3rd September, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of August 28.

All this furore about new decisions being taken regarding the splitting up of the bilingual State is greatly exaggerated. No decision has been taken. All that happened was that, at my suggestion, a private meeting was held at which Pantji, Morarji, Chavan and I were present.<sup>25</sup> I said that we should consider this question in all its aspects and be clear in our own minds. It is no good merely avoiding the issue. I myself was in favour of the bilingual State, as it is often said, but I said that there was sullenness in Maharashtra and we should bear this in mind too. Others present discussed this matter. There can be no question of decisions being arrived at in purdah. Whatever is to be done has to be done after the fullest consultation and consideration.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Letter to Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay.

25. On 22-23 August 1959.



*The Age of Chivalry Not Over*



*It is reported that bilingual Bombay State will be divided, with Bombay City going to Maharashtra.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 SEPTEMBER 1959)

## 16. To Sri Prakasa: Parsis not Neglected in Consultations<sup>26</sup>

September 30, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

I have just received your handwritten letter from Rajkot.

I shall be reaching Bombay day after tomorrow and my programme there has been made and filled up already. I do not think there is much room for additions to it. But I shall gladly do anything which you and Chavan consider proper and necessary about this Bombay State matter.

I do not think, however, that any kind of a conference is at all suitable. The committee that has been made consists of representatives from all those areas which you have mentioned.<sup>27</sup> There are no Parsis in it. That is true. But I think it is a good and representative committee.

The one thing I particularly wished to avoid right from the beginning was that there should be no feeling among any group of being neglected. That was why I proceeded very cautiously, but the newspapers pushed this thing much farther than I had intended. However, there it is and we must deal with it. I certainly hope that no one will have the feeling of being neglected or overlooked.

(ii) Delhi

## 17. To Shiv Charan: Midday Meals to Schoolchildren in Delhi<sup>28</sup>

September 9, 1959

Dear Shiv Charanji,

Your letter of September 8. I am glad to learn that the Delhi Corporation is arranging to give mid-day meals of milk to the children in the schools here.<sup>29</sup> I congratulate you on this decision.

26. Letter.

27. See item 1, fn 6.

28. Letter to Shiv Charan, Chairman, Standing Committee, Delhi Municipal Corporation.

29. The free milk distribution scheme for students was inaugurated at a municipal school on Idgah Road, Delhi on 17 October 1959. *The Hindustan Times* reported on 18 October that the scheme which would cost Rs. 1,00,000 per annum. It added that the Indian Red Cross Society had also donated to Delhi Municipal Corporation 300,000 lb of milk powder received from the US National Catholic Relief Fund.



I am afraid I cannot now say if it will be possible for me to take part in the inauguration scheme. I shall be going to Kabul in three days' time, and on my return I shall have to go to the Punjab for the A.I.C.C. meeting. In October I go to South India, and indeed I shall not be here for the Vijaya Dasmi day.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Kerala

**18. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Dealing with the Muslim League<sup>30</sup>**

September 12, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I have your note with which you have sent me a copy of a letter addressed by you to Indiraji.

I do not quite know what Lal Bahadur has fixed up in Kerala.<sup>31</sup> He is back, and I suggest you meet him to find out. Before he went, he had a talk with me, and it was made clear that no alliance of any kind could be made with the Muslim League of Kerala, but that, in the special circumstances of Kerala, some arrangement might be made to leave some seats for them, that is, not to contest them on behalf of the Congress. Most of these seats are certain ones for the Muslim League and anyhow they would have got them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Letter to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.

31. Union Minister of Commerce & Industry. The electoral understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League in Kerala was criticised at the AICC at Naveen Nagar, Chandigarh, on 27 September 1959 when Lal Bahadur Shastri described the election arrangements among the anti-Communist parties in the State, with the PSP and the Muslim League being allotted 35 and 12 seats respectively for the forthcoming elections. See *The Times of India*, 28 September 1959.

*Lion's Share*



*The parties of the non-Communist united front in Kerala are still scrambling for seats.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 8 NOVEMBER 1959)



(iv) North East

**19. To Rungsung Suisa: Naga Areas under the Central Government<sup>32</sup>**

Gulkhana, Kabul  
Afghanistan

17th September 1959

Dear Shri Suisa,

I have received your letter of the 11th September. In this letter you say that the Central Government is relying on reports received from the Assam Government about the Naga areas. This is not correct. The Assam Government has little to do with this area now. It is entirely under the direct charge of the Central Government. Both the civil authorities and the military deal directly with the Central Government and receive instructions from them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**20. To P.C. Borooah: Interests of Assam not "Ignored"<sup>33</sup>**

September 29, 1959

Dear Shri Borooah,

I have received your letter of the 25th September with which you have sent me a copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting. May I say that the resolution is completely vague and does not help one much. I am not aware of the fact that the interests of Assam are ignored. We realise the importance of helping Assam. I do not know how a resolution, such as you have sent, is helpful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Letter to Rungsung Suisa, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Outer Manipur, Manipur.

33. Letter to P.C. Borooah, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

## 21. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Governor of Assam<sup>34</sup>

September 30, 1959

My dear Shrinagesh,

I have your letter of 29th September.<sup>35</sup> I am very glad that you will be going to Assam as Governor.<sup>36</sup> The President,<sup>37</sup> Home Minister<sup>38</sup> and all of us agreed to this appointment and consider it a suitable one.

2. As you must know, the Governorship of Assam is rather a special one and is in some ways different from that of other Governorships. The Governor of Assam, in addition to his normal duties as head of the Assam State, is also the Agent of the Government of India in regard to NEFA and the Naga Hills and Tuensang Division area. This special assignment, therefore, is something in addition and involves the personal attention of the Governor. The External Affairs Ministry deals with these areas and, as Minister for External Affairs, I shall be in frequent contact with you.

3. The Naga Hills and Tuensang area have given us a great deal of trouble. Fortunately the situation there has greatly improved. Nevertheless we have to be vigilant and proceed with caution. Meanwhile another and a serious problem has arisen on our borders with Tibet. The defence of these border areas has been put in charge of our Army Headquarters. So far as NEFA border is concerned, the Governor of Assam will have to pay particular attention to it, naturally in full consultation with the Army authorities as well as the Government of India.

4. As for the announcement, we are prepared to make this announcement as early as possible. Probably the best course would be to make the announcement on the 3<sup>rd</sup> October afternoon or evening, that is, after the formality of the meeting of your Governors is completed.<sup>39</sup> I have written to the President<sup>40</sup> accordingly and am leaving instructions with the Cabinet Secretary<sup>41</sup> on this subject. I am myself leaving Delhi on the 2nd October morning for Rajasthan, Bombay and Poona. I shall return on the 6th October afternoon.

34. Letter to S.M. Shrinagesh, Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad.

35. See Appendix 12, pp. 329-330.

36. He became the Governor on 14 October 1959 after the death of Saiyid Fazl Ali.

37. Rajendra Prasad.

38. G.B. Pant.

39. *The Tribune* of 4 October 1959 stated that the President had appointed General S.M. Shrinagesh as Governor of Assam on 3 October 1959.

40. On 30 September 1959.

41. Vishnu Sahay.



5. You will be in Delhi on the 3rd October. I suggest that you might get in touch with the Cabinet Secretary on arrival here.

With all good wishes to you and the very high and responsible office that you are taking up,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Punjab

## 22. To V.N. Gadgil: Slocum and the Bhakra Dam<sup>42</sup>

September 4, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

I have received a copy of Slocum's<sup>43</sup> letter to you dated 4th September. I have also vaguely heard that Slocum proposes to leave for the United States on Monday or Tuesday, though this is not formally announced.<sup>44</sup>

I do not know what the position is. Slocum is a difficult person to deal with, but it will be very unfortunate if Slocum leaves in this way. This will have a bad effect on the public. I hope you will find some way out.

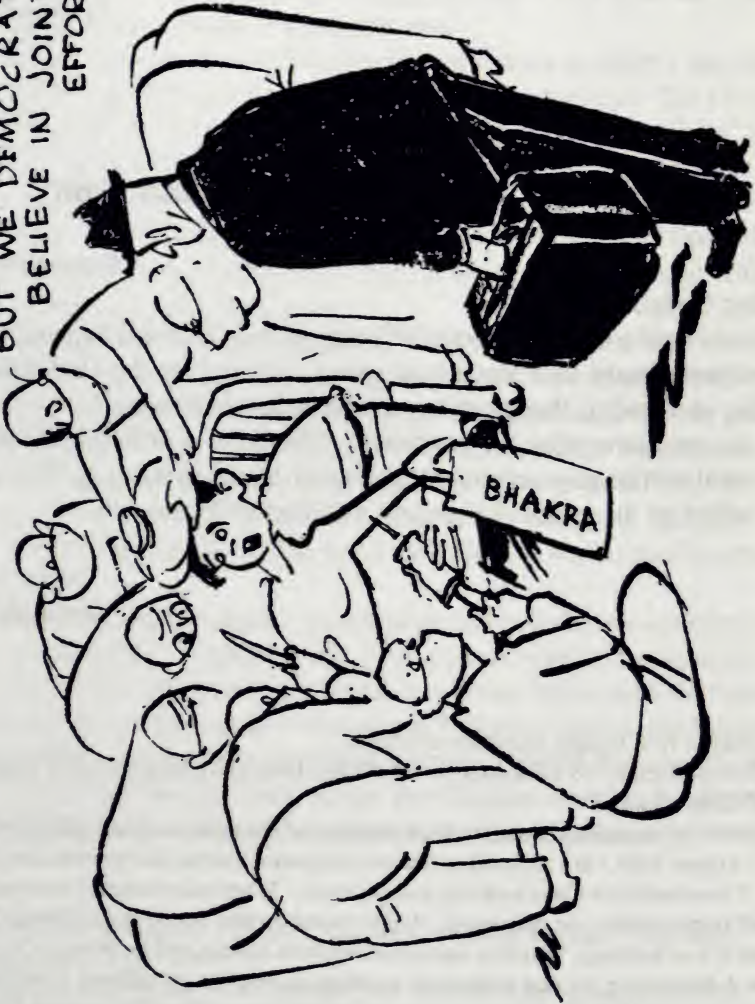
Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Letter to N.V. Gadgil, Governor of Punjab.

43. Harvey Slocum, US consultant on the Bhakra Dam and a member of the Bhakra Board of Consultants.

44. According to press reports, the hoist chamber of the right diversion tunnel collapsed on 21 August 1959. On 1 September, Slocum demanded that the Government should appoint a "Commander-in-Chief with full powers to act." When asked whether he would assume full responsibility, he responded: "I have never backed out of any challenge in my life and it is a challenge." After an agreement between Slocum and the Bhakra Control Board on 4 September, he was authorised to bring up to three consultants from the US. He brought over W.A. Dexheimer, a former Commissioner of the US Bureau of Reclamation and a top expert on dams, to India on 28 October 1959 to advise the Bhakra Control Board. Slocum informed Gadgil, the Punjab Governor, on 30 October that he had set 15 June 1960 as the deadline for the Bhakra repair operations. See SWJN//SS/51/item 135; *The Tribune*, 2, 5 and 23 September 1959; *The Times of India*, 2 and 24 October 1959; *The Hindustan Times*, 31 October 1959.

SLOCUM WANTS SUPREME POWER IF  
HE IS TO DEAL WITH BHAKRA ILLS  
BUT WE DEMOCRATS  
BELIEVE IN JOINT  
EFFORT.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 SEPTEMBER 1959)



**23. To Partap Singh Kairon: Rarewala's Tubewell Sale<sup>45</sup>**

September 24, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have already sent you a copy of the note of our Law Minister<sup>46</sup> in regard to the case of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala<sup>47</sup> and this morning spoken to you about it also. I suggest that you show this Law Minister's note to Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala.<sup>48</sup> You may tell him that my views on this matter are in line with those of our Law Minister and I feel that the least that can be done now is for a reversal of the sale of the tube-well.<sup>49</sup>

Normally I would have met Sardar Gian Singh and discussed this matter with him. But in view of the very clear note of the Law Minister and my own opinion agreeing with it, I do not think it necessary to trouble Sardar Gian Singh. If, however, he wishes to see me, I am prepared to meet him in the course of my visit to Chandigarh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**24. To Partap Singh Kairon: Paying Off Old Debts<sup>50</sup>**

Raj Bhavan  
Chandigarh  
September 27, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

A young man gave me the enclosed letter today. It relates to some petty sums due to him which apparently was on account of purchases made in January 1952 during my election tour in Sirhind. This is a relatively small matter and the event took place rather long ago. Nevertheless, I think even these small

45. Letter to Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab.

46. Asoke K. Sen.

47. Minister for Irrigation, Power and Community Development, Government of Punjab.

48. The Law Minister had suggested that the transaction on the sale of tube-well should be reversed. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 308-309 and 311-314.

49. *The Tribune* of 29 September 1959 said that Rarewala would be asked to reimburse the Government the Rs. 21,000 charged by him or by his son keep the controversial tubewell in his possession.

50. Letter.

matters deserve to be enquired into. It may not be possible to get proof at this stage. But if a fair presumption arises, I think payment should be made to him.

I was told today that the case of peasants from Jind who were being dispossessed and who came to me repeatedly in Delhi was still awaiting decision. You will probably remember this case and you told me that you would have these questions settled. Will you kindly look into this matter?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 25. To Asoke K. Sen: Rarewala's Misdemeanours<sup>51</sup>

29th September, 1959

My dear Asoke,

The note you had sent me on Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala's case was sent by me to the Chief Minister of the Punjab who gave a copy of it to Rarewala. Rarewala saw me last evening at Chandigarh and complained that the facts placed before you were incomplete and he wanted an opportunity to clear some matters up.<sup>52</sup> I told him that he should certainly be given this opportunity, but I added that in any event it seemed to me improper for the sale to have taken place in the manner it did, regardless of the facts.

On my return here today I received a letter from him which I enclose. I have sent a reply to him. A copy of this is also enclosed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. Letter.

52. According to *The Tribune* of 1 October 1959, Rarewala rejected as unfair the Centre's findings, based on Kairon's report. He demanded an enquiry by a Judge of the Supreme Court.



**26. To Gian Singh Rarewala: Tube Well Issue<sup>53</sup>**

29th September, 1959

Dear Gian Singhji,

Your letter of the 25th September has been put up before me today on my return from Chandigarh. Last evening I had a talk with you on this very subject.

You know that when the Chief Minister sent me the papers on the subject of this sale of the tube well, I consulted the Law Minister of the Government of India and he gave me a note on it. I had decided to consult him as he is our highest authority in so far as consultation on legal matters is concerned. I understand that a copy of that note was given to you by the Chief Minister.

You have stated in your letter, and told me yesterday, that all the facts were not placed before the Law Minister and that if certain other facts had been before him it was quite possible that he might have held a different opinion. That might or might not be so, I cannot say. But I feel that you are entitled to draw our attention to any facts which may not have come before us in the previous papers. I suggested to you, therefore, that you should see the relevant files and papers and, if you so chose, send me a note on the subject which I would pass on to the Law Minister. I am anxious that nothing should be done which might directly or indirectly reflect on your position in this matter. Since, however, this question has been considered already at various stages, we have to proceed in a regular manner. I have, therefore, requested the Chief Minister to give you full facilities to see all the relevant files and papers and I hope you will be good enough to send me a note on the subject as soon as you can.

I pointed out to you, however, that whatever the actual facts of the transaction might be, it seemed to me not proper for the transaction to have been entered into at all as it involved a Minister and the Punjab Government. Therefore, in any event, it was advisable for you to be prepared to take back the tube-well i.e. to set aside the old sale. This would put you in the right position. You agreed to this.

I spoke on these lines to the Chief Minister last night after I have had a talk with you and he agreed to give you all facilities to see the papers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. Letter to Gian Singh Rarewala, Irrigation Minister, Punjab Government.

(vi) Rajasthan

**27. To Jai Narain Vyas: Accounting for Public Funds<sup>54</sup>**

September 29, 1959

My dear Jai Narainji,

I have your letter without date. I entirely agree with you that all funds connected with the public should be properly accounted for and that my visits should not entail heavy public expenditure. If you can send me any specific facts, I shall enquire into them.

As for the moneys spent on the air-strip and the Circuit House, I enquired into this matter some time ago. I do not know exactly what was spent on them, but I was informed that repairs to the Circuit House and the air-strip had to be done in any event and were not being done for my sake, although, perhaps, this was expedited because of my going. Anyhow, I shall enquire into this matter again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) Uttar Pradesh

**28. To Sampurnanand: Charges against Kamlapati Tripathi<sup>55</sup>**

Raj Bhavan  
Chandigarh

September 27, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember that you gave me the papers concerning the charges made against Kamlapati Tripathi.<sup>56</sup> I am sorry for the delay in dealing with this matter. I thought that it would be desirable for me to take the advice of a competent

54. Letter to Jai Narain, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan. File No. 8/111/59-PMS.

55. Letter to Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of UP.

56. Home Minister, UP Government.



lawyer. I referred them, therefore, to our Law Minister, Shri Asoke Sen, who has been good enough to examine them thoroughly and to write a comprehensive note. I enclose a copy of this note.<sup>57</sup>

It is to be borne in mind that this note is naturally based on the statement of the case and the facts as supplied by Shri Kamlapati Tripathi and those who made the charges have apparently not been given a chance to put forward their version of the case. But I remember that you asked them to supply any facts in their possession, and, so far as I know, they have not done so. Therefore, the Law Minister's note necessarily has to be based on the material supplied to him by Kamlapati Tripathi. Prima facie this material is adequate and on that basis I agree with the Law Minister's note.

The Law Minister's note is a secret document. It would not be proper to give it publicity. Also this matter is before the Law Courts in Benares. That would also be a reason not to give publicity to this note.

I have, however, sent a copy of the Law Minister's note to the Congress President, to Sri Prakasaji and Lal Bahadur Shastri. I think that Pantji has already received a copy from the Law Minister directly.

I think that you might show the Law Minister's note to Kamlapati Tripathi. You can also show it to any of the leaders of the Opposition or the persons who brought the charges. This will be at your discretion. But copies of the note should not be given to anybody.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 29. To Sampurnanand: Dacoities in Meerut<sup>58</sup>

September 30, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Reports reach me that the law and order situation in Meerut district has been continuing to deteriorate for some time past and there have been many dacoities and murders. I am sure this must be of concern to you. I think the district authorities should be pulled up and made responsible for dealing with such a

57. Nehru had sent the copies of the note to Indira Gandhi, G.B. Pant, and Lal Bahadur Shastri on the same day.

58. Letter.

situation. It might even be, perhaps, worthwhile to send some really vigorous District Magistrate there, as well as Superintendent of Police.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) West Bengal

### 30. In the Lok Sabha: Firing in Bengal<sup>59</sup>

“Motions for Adjournment: Situation in West Bengal”

Mr. Speaker:<sup>60</sup> I have received notices of three or four adjournment motions. I will read the first. Shri S.M. Banerjee,<sup>61</sup> Shri Jagdish Awasthi<sup>62</sup> and Prakash Vir Shastri:<sup>63</sup>

“Need to discuss the brutal firing on 3rd September, 1959 in Howrah, Calcutta and other places in West Bengal resulting in death of 11 persons, serious injuries to more than 120 persons and complete breakdown of law and order situation and administrative machinery in that State. Calling of troops has further aggravated the situation and paralysed the city life completely. Centre’s intervention is absolutely necessary to safeguard the interest of the people of West Bengal as majority of them have completely lost confidence in the State Government.”

How have we got jurisdiction over this matter? I will put one question and one of them as representatives may answer: not all of them. Yesterday, this matter came up. Whenever the civil authorities find it difficult to manage the dispersal of the crowd or other gathering or they apprehend that law and order will be threatened, it is open to them under the Criminal Procedure Code and the normal law of the land to call in the aid of the troops. If so, the Centre is not responsible for that under the law itself. They are bound to send. If they had committed default, certainly I would admit an adjournment motion here why the Centre has not sent or the troops refused to go. Normally, legally, the civil

59. Answers to questions, 4 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6402-6403, 6409-6412, 6413-6416.

60. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

61. Independent, MP from Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh.

62. Independent, MP from Bilhaur, UP.

63. Independent, MP from Gurgaon, Punjab.



authorities are entitled to call upon them.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday, after the question hour, when you were pleased not to allow those adjournment motions, some hon. Members of the House on the other side approached me and spoke about this Calcutta situation. They said that the food situation there was very good now....

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:<sup>64</sup> Who said that?

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri<sup>65</sup>: I repudiate that.

Mr. Speaker: Let the hon. Prime Minister go on. In the end, hon. Members can have their say.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They said,—I say so firmly—that the food situation had greatly improved ....

Shri Prabhat Kar<sup>66</sup>: That was not said by us.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: That is completely wrong. (Interruptions).

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ....that prices had come down and that the harvest was very good, a promising one. In other words, there may be some difference of opinion in the measure of improvement, but there was no doubt that prices had come down by as much as Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 or Rs. 7 per maund. This was not said by them. I am saying this. Prices had come down. There is no doubt about it, that is, about these facts, whether they said them or not, that the prices have come down by Rs. 3 to Rs. 7 per maund in that area, that the harvest is a very good one, and perhaps that is the reason why the prices have come down.

Further, in Bengal, even previously, about 50 per cent, of the people were rationed; they got ration cards, the entire population of Calcutta and a good part of the rural population. That was so some time ago. Now, even this area has been expanded; it is much wider, that is, rationing has been extended in the rural areas, to the smaller peasants or farmers. Now, that is the position. I do not mean to say that everything is well in Bengal on the food front. But I would submit that it is not only improving, but is somewhat better than in some parts of India. That is, of course, nothing for me to be proud of, but it is so.

64. CPI, MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

65. Socialist Party, MP from Berhampore, West Bengal.

66. CPI, MP from Hoogly, West Bengal.

But I would submit that at the present moment we are not considering the food situation here only; the food situation is going to be considered in a big way tomorrow in Delhi by the National Development Council. We cannot consider the food situation in every bit of India, for getting the rest of India; therefore, all the Chief Ministers of States are coming here, along with their Food Ministers; for, we consider it important to discuss this matter, not only from the point of view of the separate States but in its organic unity of India. There it is. But the present position to which the hon. Member objects is relating to what is happening in Calcutta. The hon. Member says that the army has taken charge of parts of Calcutta, parts of Bengal. As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind has happened. The army was called in yesterday. I said at mid-day yesterday the army had not been called in. It was called in at 6 p.m. yesterday to Howrah, parts of Howrah, because there was a very bad trouble there. I might mention that till three days ago the Chief Minister of Bengal deliberately did not issue firearms to the police, because he did not want the use of firearms. When ambulance cars, milk vans were burnt, apart from buses....

Several Hon. Members: Shame.

Shri Muhammed Elias<sup>67</sup>: From them they were shooting people throughout the city.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Did the hon. Member say that ambulance cars were shooting people?

Shri Nagi Reddy:<sup>68</sup> Is it not a fact that ambulance vans were used as police vans?

Shri Muhammed Elias: It has been agreed by the Mayor of Calcutta<sup>69</sup> and he has agreed that he will make an enquiry into the matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Members have helped me—I thank them—that because the ambulance vans had policemen they had to be burnt, according to them. Is that the argument of hon. Members opposite?

67. CPI, MP from Howrah, West Bengal.

68. CPI, MP from Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh.

69. B.K. Banerjee.



Shri Nagi Reddy: When policemen began to shoot the people, naturally the people got angry. Are ambulance vans to be used as police vans?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Ambulance cars do not even belong to the Government. Ambulance is not a government organisation; it is a private organisation. Milk vans which were distributing milk, large numbers of them, were burnt, apart from other damage and arson done. When the situation had become so bad, then only the Chief Minister, under great pressure, agreed to the issue of fire-arms to the police, because the situation was getting bad with regard to arson, destruction, etc., not to mention other cars and buses which were burnt.

Yesterday in Howrah at first, in the course of the morning, there was some dispute between two sets of workers, one set, a large number of workers, who wanted to continue to work in the mills—and they did not approve of the hartal and, what is more, they did work for some time, for a good time—and another set which objected to their working. There was some trouble between them. And those workers did work in the mills for some time, I say. It was only after that.... (Interruptions)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It was only after that, when that set of workers finished their work that day, that the trouble became worse in Howrah, Howrah town and the neighbourhood of Howrah, and the forces were sent for, the army was called in aid of the civil power, and they went only to Howrah.

And what they have done thus far is this. It is not a question of taking over the administration; very far from it. The troops carried out the following two things. They patrolled the Howrah police station area in vehicles; they laid a cordon round the jute mill in Peshnagar area etc. to enable the police to arrest miscreants suspected of causing loot, arson and murder. The police arrested a number.

May I say that people die in these things, and it is not for us to shout too much about it? But it is a manner of doing things that is sometimes even worse than that. Today's paper announces that a policeman was killed, well, a policeman was killed. There it is. But how was he killed? He was pulled out and an attempt was made to cut, to decapitate him with a sword. That is utter brutality, I say. (Several Hon. Members: Shame). And I say it is utter, naked brutality. And this is the kind of brutality that is being encouraged by this behaviour and this action in Calcutta. (Interruptions).

Shri H.N. Mukerjee:<sup>70</sup> Sir, you have permitted the Prime Minister to make certain circumstantial references on the basis of whatever information he

70. CPI, MP from Calcutta North East, West Bengal.

has got in his possession, and that is why I am constrained also to have to refer to certain other things, and I hope you will permit me to make a reference to them.

The Prime Minister has referred particularly to one case where a policeman was dragged out or something like that happened and he was killed under circumstances which, from the paper reports, were certainly very regrettable and gruesome, I might add. But, Sir, the Prime Minister chose to omit any reference to the fact that in only two days' time as many as twenty-seven people have been killed in Calcutta and in Howrah.<sup>71</sup> If this account has any claim to veracity, in a few hours' time eleven people were killed in a small town which has not more than a population of three hundred to four hundred thousand people.

Now, what I want the government of this country always to bear in mind is this, that when in any particular part of the country, especially a strategic and a very important place like Calcutta, the greatest city in this country, when in that area there is a movement—for good reason or bad reason, it is not for us at this moment to decide upon—when in that city there is a movement of which the leaders are taken away altogether, it is completely decapitated of its leadership by means of Preventive Detention, the West Bengal Security Act and a hundred other devices which are in the armoury of the Government; the leadership is completely out of the picture, and second, third and fourth rank leaders have also been taken away; Government itself in its press note says that as a result of the leadership not being there, the movement has got into the hands of anti-social elements—it may or may not be true—but the situation has arisen on account of a basic dissatisfaction with the food policy of the Government, and particularly the personal vanity of one particular Minister, the Food Minister there, who refuses to follow the example of Shri A.P. Jain. In Calcutta, as I said the other day in a parenthesis which perhaps escaped you, even Congress newspapers like *Jugantar* are saying that a shameless policy is being pursued. I am not going into the details of that policy, because at this point of time it is not for me to say anything about it. But I am astounded to see the attitude that is being displayed by the Prime Minister of this country when twenty-seven people are killed in two days' firing in Calcutta, which shows that he is completely callous in this regard. And I remember how in regard to Bombay he has come with sack cloth and ashes to give Samyukta

71. B. C. Roy told a press conference in West Bengal on 6 September 1959 that 22 persons had been killed during food agitations in the first week of September in Calcutta and Howrah. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 7 September 1959.



Maharashtra and Gujarat after he has killed more than two hundred people in the agitation over there. And he is supposed to be the most sensitive individual whom we are supposed to respect. We respect him a great deal, but he is forfeiting the respect of this country if he is going to adopt the attitude which he has done in this present debate.

I tell you, I beg of you to remember this, that in a part of our country which you cannot ignore—you cannot wish Bengal off the map of India, you cannot desire Calcutta to be wiped out of the map of India, you cannot wish it, it is there, and we are here by the mandate of the people—I wish you, I beg of you to bear in mind that in Calcutta there is agony, there is distress, there is torture, and if we in Delhi sit and do nothing because a policeman has been killed in gruesome circumstances, because Communists have got to be made the scape-goats, because the vendetta has to continue till the Kerala elections happen,<sup>72</sup> then I say good-bye to all hopes of democracy and progress under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

I beg of you to allow discussion of this in calmer circumstances. But I have lost my equilibrium because of the attitude displayed by the Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not necessary for me to say much because the hon. Member opposite has confessed that he lost his equilibrium. And I think he lost it unnecessarily because I would be inclined to agree with him even in respect of a great deal that he said. Nobody likes, or does not deplore, what has happened in Calcutta. I brought a case to the notice of the House because it was a very brutal and callous one; it is not a clash of people and people dying, which is unfortunate of course.

Now, the question is, there is a situation in Calcutta which has arisen because of a movement—if you like, I am prepared to admit it; it is not a matter for discussion. The hon. Member may be right in saying that the attitude of the West Bengal Government is not good or bad in regard to food. That is a matter for discussion. You can discuss it, if you like. But let us keep that separate.

The point is that a movement was started. The reason for that movement, if it was the “food” reason, no longer exists. That is my submission. Not finally, of course, but for the moment, it does not exist because the food situation is much better.

Now, certain conflicts have occurred between the government police forces and the rest, which is unfortunate always. We might really deplore them. But it passes my comprehension what the Government is expected to do in these

72. A mid-term election in Kerala was held between 23 January and 24 February 1960.

circumstances, when large-scale arson is being done all over. I do not know whether it was done more than necessary. I am no judge at the present moment. Anyhow, I do submit that even though it may be said—as has been said that many of the leaders of the Communist Party or other groups who started this agitation are in prison or are detained, there are hon. Members opposite who can withdraw the agitation.

### **31. To S. Dutt: Mongolian Prime Minister's Visit<sup>73</sup>**

Dr. B.C. Roy<sup>74</sup> telephoned to me this evening. He said that the visit of the Mongolian Prime Minister<sup>75</sup> to Calcutta will be rather a burden to them because of all the troubles in the city. His first suggestion was that he might be diverted to some other place, and not come to Calcutta. I said that this was not feasible. Then he said that our instructions were to give to the Mongolian Prime Minister a Guard of Honour and band and all that. I said that all this was not necessary in the circumstances. The Prime Minister can have this official welcome in Delhi. His visit to Calcutta can be a quiet one. To this Dr. Roy agreed.

2. I do not quite know what the Mongolian Prime Minister's programme in Calcutta is supposed to be and how long he stays there. It might be worth considering that he does not stay in Calcutta long and comes on the same day to Delhi. Or, he can stay there quietly for a day. I believe we are sending a special plane for him. So the timing of his departure from Calcutta can easily be arranged.

(d) Goa

### **32. In the Rajya Sabha: Goans in India<sup>76</sup>**

Shri Maheswar Naik:<sup>77</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Goans who are living in India and particularly in Bombay; and

73. Note to S. Dutt, FS, 4 September 1959.

74. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

75. Yumjagin Tsendenbal visited India 10-16 September 1959. This was his first visit.

76. Statement, 3 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Oral Answers, Vol. XXVI, cols 2755-2757.

77. Congress, MP from Orissa.



- (b) whether Government have received any Memorandum from Mr. J.M. D'Souza, President of the Goan National Union, regarding the grant of Indian citizenship to these Goans and if so, what action Government have taken in the matter?<sup>78</sup>

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon:<sup>79</sup> (a) Since Goans in India are not required to register compulsorily, no reliable statistics are available. However, it is estimated that there are about 1, 60, 000 persons from Goa, Daman and Diu [sic] living in India and about 1, 20,000 in Bombay.

(b) Yes. All Goans are of Indian origin but no decision has yet been taken about giving Indian citizenship under the Constitution to the Goans permanently residing in India.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know, Sir, as to how many people have come over to India as a result of certain repressive measures taken by the Goan Government, and how many have gone back so far?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I have no information, Sir.

Shri Maheswar Naik: What is the status of those people who are now living in India?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, they are all Goans. They are Portuguese citizens, and unless they renounce their Portuguese citizenship and ask for naturalisation, they will remain Portuguese citizens.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know, Sir, the present stage of the question regarding integration of Goa into India?

Mr. Chairman:<sup>80</sup> It is a different question altogether.

Shri V.K. Dhage:<sup>81</sup> Sir, the number of Goans staying in Bombay is said to be 1, 20,000. And they are staying permanently in Bombay. May I know,

78. He presented a memorandum on 26 September 1959 to Nehru, urging that Goans in India should be treated as Indian nationals "on a 'de facto' basis" so that they "could live as Indians and not as foreigners." See *The Times of India*, 27 September 1959.

79. The Deputy Minister of External Affairs.

80. S. Radhakrishnan.

81. Venkat Krishna Dhage, Independent, MP from Bombay.

Sir, the difficulty involved in their being given the Indian citizenship?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the question is that the matter is not wholly clear. It is rather vague. But we cannot accept any kind of dual citizenship. That is the only difficulty. As a matter of fact, Sir, in some ways, most of them are treated as Indians in the sense, I believe, that for the Corporation, etc. probably they vote—not all of them but a good number of them. Anyway, it is a slightly undefined matter.

Diwan Chaman Lall:<sup>82</sup> Is it not a fact that since we are claiming Goa as a part of the Indian territory, obviously any citizen of Goa would naturally be an Indian citizen?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We are claiming Goa as a part of India, and, therefore, it is becoming a part of the Indian Union. But it is not a territory of the Indian Union by any constitutional law at present.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:<sup>83</sup> May I know, Sir, as to why we cannot make this arrangement? Since Goa is a part of India and since it is under the occupation of a foreign power, those who are in India and who want to be regarded as Indian citizens, should be formally acknowledged as such.

Mr. Chairman: That is only your suggestion.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That suggestion is implied, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, Sir, a considerable number of them can do so, if they so wish. But the only difficulty is this duality about it, because under our rules, I think, a person has to renounce his other citizenship before he can become an Indian citizen. If he does that, there can be no difficulty.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Sir, a number of Goans are permanently staying in Bombay, and they are born there and they possess their property in Bombay. Why should we, therefore, imagine that they owe allegiance to some other country, especially when they have been staying in Bombay as natural citizens?

82. Congress, MP from Punjab.

83. CPI, MP from West Bengal.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, many of them are Indian nationals. Unless the hon. Member points out any particular case where this difficulty has arisen—I am saying that there are a plenty of them who have not formally accepted Indian nationality and whose position is rather vague.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha:<sup>84</sup> May I know, Sir, whether the right of franchise is exercised by these Goan nationals in India, and can they join the Indian Services?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: By some it is, and by some it is not. Unless I have a clear enquiry made as to how many exercise it and how many are on the electoral rolls, I cannot answer the question precisely.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know whether these Goans who have come from Goa to India are still holding the Portuguese nationality?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, according to the Portuguese nationality law, all Portuguese citizens, whether by marriage or by birth, remain Portuguese citizens, even if they do not live in the Portuguese territory. Therefore, these Goans in India are Portuguese citizens until they renounce their Portuguese citizenship and ask for their Indian citizenship. Under article 5© of the Constitution, they could have done it, but most of them did not do so, and, therefore, we cannot take any action in the matter.

### 33. To S. Dutt: Goan Political Convention<sup>85</sup>

I spoke to the Chief Minister of Bombay about this invitation from the Goan Political Convention.<sup>86</sup> I told him that I did not like the idea of getting mixed up with this Convention. I did not know the background of it and I rather doubted if my visit to it would be helpful. It is much better for the Goans to function by themselves than for me to try to make them stand on their feet.

84. Congress, MP from Bihar.

85. Note, 29 September 1959.

86. *The Times of India* of 3 October 1959 reported that the three day conference from 2 to 4 October 1959 was inaugurated by Y.B. Chavan in Bombay. He declared that as long as any part of India was in foreign occupation, India's freedom could not be said to be complete. He added: "Our freedom struggle will be completed only when Goa is liberated."

(e) Sikkim

**34. To S. Dutt: Indira Gandhi's Statement Distorted** <sup>87</sup>

It appears that much has been made of some casual remarks by Mrs Gandhi.<sup>88</sup> It was not quite correctly reported. I enquired from her what she said. She said that she certainly did not say that the Sikkim Congress was a communal body. She had expressed her opinion that she would not like to interfere in matters relating to Sikkim.

2. I think you might send a copy of this telegram to her.

(f) Administration

**35. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Thimayya's Resignation**<sup>89</sup>

Reference report of resignation of Chiefs of Staff.

Yesterday Thimayya sent me letter of resignation.<sup>90</sup> I was surprised to receive this although I had known for a few days that there was tension. I saw him last night and after some talk he agreed to withdraw his resignation. Unfortunately press publicity given to resignation today. I could not be present in Parliament because I had gone to Palam to meet President Ayub Khan.<sup>91</sup> I intend making statement in Parliament tomorrow.

2. I have inquired into this and connected matters. There is no truth in charges of promotion being based on political or other considerations. All promotions made by Selection Boards of high standing.<sup>92</sup> There have been a number of trivial incidents of no great importance. Real thing is temperamental differences and sometimes behaviour which has been disliked.

87. Note, 29 September 1959.

88. *The Statesman* of 24 September 1959 reported Indira Gandhi saying the following in New Delhi on 23 September: "...We have no business to interfere in the internal affairs of Sikkim. According to some reports, the Sikkim State Congress was purely a Nepalese body and the people of Sikkim were not very happy about it."

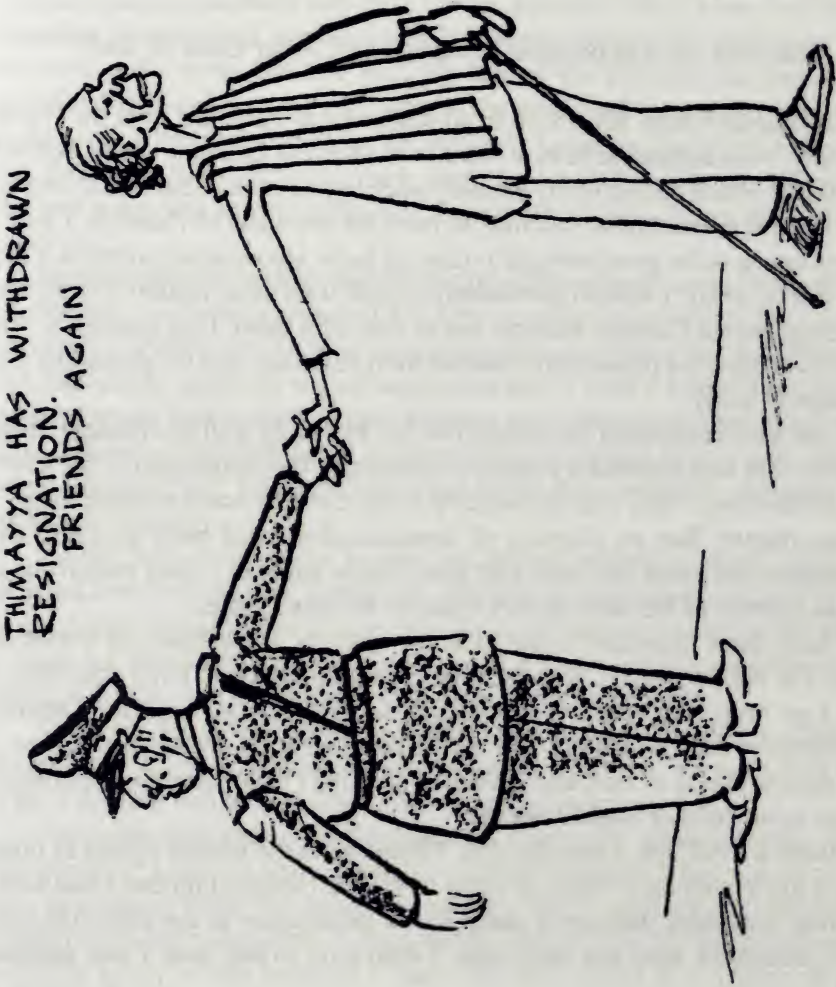
89. Telegram to India's High Commissioner to UK, 2 September 1959.

90. See the next item in this volume.

91. See item 79 in this volume.

92. Regarding proposals for promotions in the Army, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 484-485.





(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 SEPTEMBER 1959)

3. I think Thimayya acted unwisely in resigning and I believe he realises this. Anyhow he has withdrawn his resignation and we hope to revert to normality fairly soon, there is no question of any other resignation.

### 36. In the Lok Sabha: Thimayya's Resignation<sup>93</sup>

“Motions for Adjournment Resignation of Army Chief of Staff”

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I wish to apologise for my absence from the House yesterday. I was anxious to be here because of a number of adjournment motions on a subject which had naturally aroused much interest, but as the House knows, I had to go to Palam just at that time to meet the President of Pakistan. I sent a request to you to be good enough to take up these adjournment motions a day later, that is, today. I wished particularly to deal with these matters myself and so I requested the Defence Minister not to deal with them. I am grateful to you and to the House for postponing consideration yesterday and for giving me this opportunity today.

I can well understand the concern of this House as well as of others about the news that was published yesterday concerning the resignation of the Chief Staff of the Army. That was, particularly in the circumstances existing today, a serious matter. But an element of sensationalism has been given in the newspapers and much has been said there that is not true. I shall endeavour to give an account of the facts as they came to my knowledge.

I have been interested in the Defence Ministry throughout my period of office. For brief periods, I have held the defence portfolio.<sup>94</sup> Even otherwise, I have kept myself in touch with its activities not only through the Defence Committee of the Cabinet but also on the personal level. From time to time, I have met the Chiefs of Staff and whenever possible I have taken the opportunity to visit some defence establishments.

About a week ago, I sent for Gen. Thimayya in the normal course in order to have a talk with him. When he came to see me I said to him that I had heard that there was some discontent about recent promotions in the army. He gave me an account of what had been done. I shall refer to this later. I was satisfied

93. Statement, 2 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 5851-5859, and 5965-5870.

94. From 10 February 1953 to 10 January 1955 and from 30 January to 17 April 1957.



that these promotions had been made in the regular course through Selection Boards and there was no element of partisanship of favouritism in them. I say this because I find that some reference was made yesterday in the House to political considerations influencing promotions. I think that there is no truth in that charge.

Gen. Thimayya then said to me that he was not feeling very happy about various matters connected with the Defence Ministry. When I enquired further from him he said that it was quite true that during the last two years more work had been done in the Defence Ministry than in the previous ten years. Many amenities had been given to our men in the army and these had been greatly appreciated. Production work in the ordnance factories had processed greatly and generally they had had to work much harder than before. He assured me that the army was in fine fettle and the morale of the officers and men was excellent.

Nevertheless, he said he was not happy at the manner some of the work in the Ministry was being carried on. He gave me some instances but they were to my thinking rather trivial and of no consequence. I realised that the difficulties that had arisen might be called temperamental. I said I would look into the matter. I spoke later to the Defence Minister and mentioned rather briefly what Gen. Thimayya had told me. I suggested that he might have a talk with the Army Chief of Staff. I gathered later that the Defence Minister had some talks with Gen. Thimayya.

On the 31st August, that is, the day before yesterday, about mid-day, I received a letter from Gen. Thimayya offering his resignation as Chief of Staff Army. I was much surprised to receive this as our previous talk had not led me to think that this might happen. Also, it seemed to me peculiarly unwise for this action to be taken in the conditions that prevail in India today.

That evening, that is, on the 31st, I sent for him and pointed out to him that his sending me his resignation in the way he did seemed to me not a right thing at all. I advised him to withdraw it and he accepted my advice.

Yesterday morning—1st September—I saw the announcement in the newspapers.<sup>95</sup> I did not know how this reached the press. I had not mentioned the resignation letter to anyone at all, nor did I mention the subsequent withdrawal of the resignation. I was naturally distressed at the rather sensational publicity given to this because I knew that this would be a matter of great concern to the House.

95. All most all the Indian newspapers carried the information that General Thimayya had resigned on 31 August 1959.

As I was unable to come here yesterday, I utilised the rest of the day in trying to get some further information and not many of my colleagues as well as officers from the Defence Ministry. I have had further talks with the Defence Minister and Gen. Thimayya. Gen. Thimayya subsequently sent me a letter formally withdrawing his previous offer of resignation.

One of the complaints made in this House as well as outside has been about promotions. I went rather fully into this question. There are strict rules governing promotions in the defence services, more especially to the selection posts. I wish that some method approaching that could be introduced in our civil services also. Selection posts are filled on the basis of merit and not of seniority alone. There are various Selection Boards dealing with promotions from Majors to Lieut.-Cols. Large numbers of people are dealt with here. Many of these are officers who came in during the last great war and a fairly strict screening is adopted in dealing with them, by these Boards. Inevitably many are superseded. The method adopted was that 120 of the best men from each year's commission were selected from Majors to be Lieut.-Cols.

Recently, the Defence Committee of the Cabinet made a rule ensuring that every officer in the army could end up as Lieut.-Col. And obtain a Lieut.-Col.'s pension. This gave great satisfaction. These recommendations of the Selection Boards are considered by the Chief of Staff and later by the Ministry. Normally no change is made and the recommendations are adopted as a whole.

I may add this. When I say, "adopted as a whole", that does not take away the right of the Government to make a change in them because ultimately it is the right of the Government to make any change in any such recommendation, but, as a matter of fact, this right is very seldom exercised in these large numbers of selections.

Different and higher Selection Boards are set up for promotions to the higher grades of the army like Brigadiers and Major-Generals. The Selection Board for Major-Generals consists of the three Army Commanders and the P.S.Os. The Chief of Staff, Army, is the Chairman of it. Inevitably, many officers are superseded here as the selection is made on the basis of merit and quality of work done. The recommendations of this Selection Board are placed before the Ministry. It is seldom that any change is made by the Ministry or the Minister in these recommendations. Again, I would repeat that it is not because we have no right to do so, but, in fact, we seldom do so. So far as I know, on this occasion no change was made.

Thus, in all these large-scale promotions from Majors and Lieut.-Cols. To Major-Generals, all the promotions recently made were through highly qualified Selection Boards who went deeply into each case. These recommendations were accepted.



In the case of promotion from Major-Generals to Lieut.-Generals the procedure is somewhat different. These are supposed to be done ultimately by Government itself, on the recommendation of the Chief of Staff. The Chief of Staff may, and usually does, consult the three Army Commanders. In the present case, a panel of three names was put up by the Chief of Staff. These three were considered by him to be fit to be Lieut.-Generals and, therefore, worthy of being promoted. There were two tests laid down. One was that the person should be capable of functioning in a staff appointment, as Major-General, I think. No. 1 in the list of three was fully qualified. But there was one difficulty and that was that he had not actually commanded an infantry division. This, of course, was not his fault; he had had no chance. There was a further difficulty: that the fact that he had not commanded an infantry division may come up later in case the question of further promotion arose. The Chief of Staff, nevertheless, on the whole, favoured No. 1 in this connection, though he had recommended Nos. 2 and 3 also as fit for promotion as Lieut.-Generals. The Defence Minister thought that it would be better to promote No. 2 and 3 as Lieut.-Generals now and to give immediately a chance to No. 1 to command an infantry division, so that he might have that experience and further that as soon as a vacancy occurred he should be appointed Lieut.-General and given the requisite seniority from now. Thus, he would not lose his seniority by this delay in appointing him as Lieut.-General. There was no supersession of No. 1. If he did not have experience of the command of a division now, a difficulty might arise later when the question of his commanding an army corps arises. The Defence Minister consulted me as Prime Minister about this matter, and I agreed with him, more especially as No. 1 did not ultimately lose anything by this procedure and is ensured of his future.

In all these hundreds of promotions right up to the top, there was no interference by Government, or the Ministry, in the recommendations made by the selection boards of the Chief of Staff. The only slight variation made was the one referred to above. Thus, the idea that any considerations other than merit came in is completely untrue. Naturally, large numbers of officers were not promoted, but the decision was of the selection boards. Those who were not chosen naturally felt disappointed. In any system of merit promotion this is bound to happen.

I have stated above that General Thimayya has withdrawn his resignation. No other resignations have been received by me. The facts, as stated above, would indicate that many of the criticisms made are not justified. Nevertheless, the tension that arose leading to certain unfortunate developments was a matter of concern to me. Such things should not happen in the defence services at any time, and more especially when we have to face a serious situation.

Temperamental and like differences cannot be allowed to interfere in the vital work which our Defence Ministry and the defence services have to do.

There is one other aspect that must always be borne in mind. Under our Constitution and our practice, the civil authority is, and must, remain supreme. But that civil authority should pay due heed to the expert advice that it receives. During the last two years or so, our defence services and our defence factories have made great progress. The production has gone up greatly and our ordnance factories now dealing with major projects and thus utilising their spare capacity. Certain well-deserved amenities have been given to our officers and men in the defence services. And I am happy to say that their discipline and morale are excellent.

The unfortunate incident that has happened recently should not make us forget these basic facts. I should like to pay a tribute to the Defence Minister for his great energy and enthusiasm which he has put in his work and which has resulted in so much progress. Also, I would like to express my appreciation of the good work done by our officers and men in the new production activities. I intend maintaining my personal contacts with the defence services and help in removing any difficulties that might arise.

Acharya Kripalani:<sup>96</sup> May I, with your permission, say a few words?

Mr. Speaker: Is it necessary to say a few words now in view of the statement?

Acharya Kripalani: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Very well.

Acharya Kripalani: The statement of the Prime Minister is good so far as it goes. But, I am afraid, that it will not put at rest the rumours that have been afloat in the public, as well as in the press. There have been charges and counter-charges and there are rumours afloat, and the problems involved are of a serious nature. The Prime Minister referred to the healthy and efficient functioning of our armed forces and the public confidence in their capacity to defend the nation in any event of foreign aggression. It is, therefore, necessary that the matters that have become the subject of public controversy be thoroughly discussed in the House. I concede the inconvenience of public discussion, but surely there can be no objection to

96. PSP, MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.



a secret session of the House where there can be free and uninhibited discussion of the whole matter, in which all sections of the House, including the members of the ruling party, can participate freely. This is the only way in which the clouded atmosphere of uncertainty can be cleared and public confidence in the defence forces which has always existed in the country can be again restored.

Shri Ranga:<sup>97</sup> May I say a word? I am glad to have this assurance from the Prime Minister that the threatened resignation, or the resignation, of General Thimayya has been withdrawn. It is rather strange that the Prime Minister, strangely enough failed to pay the same kind of tribute to General Thimayya and the other Chiefs of Staff, as he has paid to his colleague, Shri Krishna Menon. I sincerely hope he will take an early occasion to make good this very important omission. I do not claim to know much about the defence services. But I do know that many people who are in the know of things have come to form a very high opinion indeed of the competence, sense of patriotism and sense of duty of General Thimayya. He has rendered great services to our nation. Other nations also paid tribute to his services when he was working on our behalf on the Korean front, to mention only one fact. It is most essential that we try our best to maintain the morale of the defence forces.

I agree with the Prime Minister that the civil authority must be supreme. We have had that great example of the relations between President Truman and General Mac Arthur. I give it all importance that is due to it. We want to maintain similar relations in this country also. But, at the same time, we want to be assured that the Prime Minister would be as keen about maintaining the prestige of the Chief of Staff as he seems to be anxious to maintain the prestige of his colleague in this House.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say something, to begin with, in answer to Prof. Ranga? He said that I ought to have referred in terms of appreciation to General Thimayya in this note. As a matter of fact, I have referred to army officers and men, and I think General Thimayya is a very gallant and experienced officer who has done very good service to this country. But I do not congratulate him for his letter of resignation. That is perfectly clear.

Shri Ranga: You have congratulated the wrong man then. Why have you asked him to withdraw his resignation?

97. Congress, MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Vajpayee:<sup>98</sup> Ask General Thimayya to resign, that is all.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:<sup>99</sup> It is a very serious matter. If he thinks that he ought not to have resigned, then the resignation should not have been withdrawn.

Shri Asoka Mehta<sup>100</sup>: It is a very anomalous position.

Shri Ranga: It creates a new position. He has asked for the resignation to be withdrawn and he is not prepared to pay the same tribute to him that he has paid to his Minister. Either his tribute to the Minister is wrong or the other one is wrong.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, I do not know, I really do not understand why some hon. Members on the opposite side are somewhat excited about this matter. I said, and I repeat, that General Thimayya and our senior officers, especially Chiefs of Staff are people who have done good service, whose experience, whose gallantry we have appreciated, and we appreciate. And that is why we have got them there. Otherwise we won't have them there. It is because we appreciate their services that we have put them there. That is why I went out of my way to get him to withdraw that letter. But that has nothing to do with my remark that I do not congratulate him, or anybody, for sending a letter of resignation. Let that be quite clear. It is and it was a most extraordinary thing to do. I have said only mildly what I have said.

Shri Hem Barua: And that too after he had discussion with you.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not matter. I say, whatever the circumstances, it was an extraordinary thing to do. The House should realise this. This kind of thing is not often done, normally speaking, or abnormally speaking. Therefore I said, having given my due need of praise to General Thimayya, as I said in my statement presently, that resigning at this stage, at this moment, was not a right thing to do.

98. Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur, UP.

99. Socialist Party, MP from Firozabad, UP.

100. PSP, MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.



Shri Asoka Mehta: Why is it condoned? Why is an extraordinary thing condoned?

Shri Ranga: One or the other is wrong.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Shri Asoka Mehta asks, why is it condoned? I do not condone it. Who said I condoned it? I have said that I think it was a wrong thing. But many wrong things done, whether in the flush of the moment or whatever it is, have been pointed out that it is a wrong thing, and one does not pursue a man for that when he has many virtues, when he has served the State in many ways and is still serving.

Shri Hem Barua: Has he expressed his regret for this unwise step?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Acharya Kripalani referred to some remarks made by some other Members opposite on the last occasion. If I may say so with all respect, they were not at all proper remarks, about General Ayub Khan and all that. Many things were said yesterday which, I submit, were not proper, this way or that way. For instance, Acharya Kripalani himself talked about political considerations in regard to promotions. I invite Acharya Kripalani to come and see the files of every man promoted, himself. I invite him to come and see them.

Acharya Kripalani: May I say that while I was speaking, and you corrected me. I said that this was what was being said, though I do not know the real truth. I have no reason to disbelieve the Prime Minister. But it is not my charge. It is the charge that is made in the press and that is made by the public. And you remember, Sir, I said in a democracy we have to give some consideration to public opinion, however misguided it may be, and also to the press, and you said "yes".

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Acharya Kripalani is a respected leader of a respected party. He is not either the public press or a public meeting in Ramlila grounds. He is not the mirror, I hope, of every rumour that is thrown about in the City of Delhi or elsewhere.

It is quite right for him to draw attention. But I invite him here and now, and anyone else in this House, to come and examine every file on promotions, because...

Acharya Kripalani: May we have the letter—if it is so plain—the letter of resignation? Let there be a secret discussion, if necessary. I do not want any public discussion of this matter. I make this suggestion very humbly so that every Member of this House, even a Congressman, may be able to speak, freely, which he cannot do here.

Raja Mahendra Pratap<sup>101</sup>: I beg to suggest that this discussion should be in a closed House, not before the public. The galleries should be cleared and then alone we should discuss it. This matter is very serious. What are you talking here, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am dealing, Sir, with the points, separately, and I am venturing to suggest—because this was Acharya Kripalani's point, whatever the basis of his information was, that promotions have been made for political considerations—I invite Acharya Kripalani, or any committee of the House appointed by you to go and look at every file dealing with promotions. Here is an open invitation, Sir, so that this matter may be dealt with thoroughly and fully, which is far better than any discussion elsewhere. Go to the source, form your own opinions; I will not be there; see the files.

Now, Acharya Kripalani has suggested an in camera debate. It is rather unusual in such matters to have debates, in camera or other. But I accept his invitation, but no in camera debate, but a public debate. Talking about an in camera debate with five hundred Members present here is rather stretching the term. But if there is going to be a debate about these matters, army matters, if people want it, it is unusual, I would not suggest it, but I do not wish to come in the way if hon. Members feel like that. But I will not have an in camera debate but have a public debate.

Acharya Kripalani: If there is to be a debate, the letters must be produced here.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon. Member is very excited about letters.

Acharya Kripalani: I said letter of resignation.

101. Independent, MP from Mathura, UP.



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You can see every file in Defence if you want it. But I would expect Acharya Kripalani and Shri Asoka Mehta not to make insinuations.

Acharya Kripalani. There are no insinuations.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What they have said, I have said here. It is not an insinuation. It is an open charge about political considerations coming in. Here I invite them to come and look at every file, everything and then I hope, whatever they are they may tell the House.

Shri Asoka Mehta: I cannot understand the Prime Minister using the word "insinuation". I made no insinuation at all. These things are there in responsible newspapers. I can give any number of cuttings from responsible newspapers where these things have been said. All that Acharya Kripalani did was to draw the attention of the House. I cannot understand the Prime Minister using the word "insinuation", when we are only discharging our duty.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry. I am also discharging my duty in drawing attention to things which are lightly said, which should not be said in this House.

### 37. In the Lok Sabha: Border Security<sup>102</sup>

"Point of Information Absence of Defence Minister on U.N.O. Work"

Acharya Kripalani: Sir, you will recollect that I had said that the Defence Minister has accepted an additional assignment of representing India at the United Nations General Assembly, and I had enquired how far it is proper in the prevailing circumstances. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Defence Minister has offered any explanation. I shall be grateful if you would give me an opportunity to raise this question, because I feel that both the public and the House are interested in this question. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have been all right, but under the extraordinary circumstances in which we are living, when the defence of the country is a very important matter, would it be advisable that the Defence Minister should be absent for three months?

102. Reply to question, 3 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6116-6117.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry that this particular matter to which the hon. Member had referred—I forget whether it was yesterday or the day before—escaped my mind, and I could say nothing about it. It is certainly a matter which deserves consideration, and we did give consideration to it and we are giving consideration to it. I came to the conclusion that no situation had arisen here at the present moment which necessitated any change in the programme which we had made; but, of course, if at any time necessity arises, a change will be made, and even if the Defence Minister is there, he will have to come back immediately. But I might add that so far as the arrangements are concerned, on our border etc., they are in good hands, and the defence forces are making adequate arrangements, and I do not think there need be any particular anxiety on that score.

I do not wish the House to imagine that I am making light of this situation; I am certainly not; it is a serious matter, but we are dealing with it, I hope, adequately and whenever necessity arises, we shall make further arrangements and keep what the hon. Member has said in mind.

### **38. To J.B. Kripalani: Thimayya's Resignation<sup>103</sup>**

September 5, 1959

My dear Jivat,

I have your letter of September 5th. I am sorry that any doubts were left after my statement about the resignation of the Chief of the Army Staff. The main points I wished to make were that so far as the question of promotions was concerned, and this was the principal matter referred to in your speech in the Lok Sabha and in the Press, the Defence Minister had nothing to do with it at all, except in regard to Lieut.-Generals. This appointment is by rule made by Government, though of course the Chief of the Army Staff makes recommendations. There was a slight difference of opinion in this matter. But the persons chosen were in the panel of three suggested by the Chief of Staff. The third person will also be made a Lieut.-General as soon as possible and given seniority from now on. So this was not a major matter.

One thing I did not say definitely, though I could very well have said it—no question of policy ever arose. That is, there was no difference of opinion in regard to any of the policies that are being pursued, whether in regard to the

103. Letter.



Chinese incursions on the border or elsewhere. This did not come into the picture at all.

I used the word “temperamental” differences because, try as I did, I could not find any major difference of opinion on any important issue. But it is true that the two did not get on well together.

You refer to the Defence Minister not denouncing Chinese aggression. The questions about Pakistani aggression were addressed to him as Defence Minister in Parliament and so he dealt with them. About the Chinese aggression, so far as I can remember, no question was addressed to him. I dealt with that matter because all questions were put to me as they were considered matters relating to the External Affairs Ministry. If they had been addressed to him, he would no doubt have given an adequate reply.

As I have stated in Parliament, after much thought, I decided that the Defence Minister might go to the United Nations for a relatively short time. At that time, the Chinese matter had not arisen. When this new development took place, I considered the matter afresh. It seemed to me that there was no immediate need for him to stay. In fact, I thought that his cancelling his visit to the United Nations now would probably have a bad effect as it would give rise to apprehension and alarm about the situation on the frontier. But I made it clear in the Lok Sabha that he could be asked to return at short notice if necessity arose.

I suggested that the papers concerning promotions could be seen by you or anyone else suggested by the Speaker. This is quite an easy matter because these files contain various stages when Selection Boards considered these matters and made recommendations to their Chief of Staff. Thereafter, the Chief of Staff considered them and approving them, sent them on to the Defence Ministry. The Ministry then examined them and finally put them up before the Defence Ministry. As a matter of fact, it is exceedingly difficult for the Defence Minister to consider these large numbers of promotions, and they are almost accepted as a routine matter. These facts were given to me by General Thimayya himself.

You are right in saying that temperamental or like differences cannot be ignored and do not easily disappear. I hope to look into this matter.

I am assured by the Chief of the Army Staff and other senior officers that the state of army discipline and morale is very good. But undoubtedly the recent developments have been unfortunate.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 39. To U.C. Patnaik: Promotions in Defence Services<sup>104</sup>

September 13, 1959

Dear Shri Patnaik,

I have your letter of the 13th September as well as the long letter attached to it of the same date and other papers.

You refer to promotions and say that a new element has been introduced in considering promotions, that is the element of likes and dislikes. This is rather a remarkable way of referring to promotion by merit. I presume you mean that promotion should take place by strict seniority. If that is so, I regret I am unable to agree with you, and I do not think any Defence service in the world would agree. That would be the surest way of suppressing the brighter elements in the Defence service and allowing second-rate people to go ahead.

There is, of course, the danger of personal likes and dislikes coming in, or opinions may differ. This danger is somewhat reduced when a qualified Selection Board does this work. Anyhow, the risk has to be taken. Suppose I went personally into this matter. How could I possibly judge of the merit of an individual officer? I could look at his record, but these records do not go very far, although, to some extent, they may be helpful.

It is inevitable that when there are many hundreds of promotions, there should be supersession of many. It is equally inevitable that those who are superseded should feel sore about it, but I can think of no other better way to deal with this matter.

I agree, however, that an overall supervision should be exercised.

I have read your other suggestions. I am afraid I do not agree with a number of them. So long as we have persons whom we consider competent advisers, we have largely to go by their advice. In regard to the political aspects of some of your proposals, I regret I do not find myself in agreement with them.

May I say that I have deeply regretted some of your speeches in Parliament which have seemed to me in rather bad taste?<sup>105</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

104. Letter to U.C. Patnaik, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ganjam, Orissa.

105. During the discussion of 9 September 1959 on manufacture of Avro 748 and replacement of Dakotas, U.C. Patnaik criticised the Defence Minister: "At a time when China and Pakistan are knocking at our doors and border- raids and transgressions against the integrity of our territory are taking place, our Defence Minister has been, trying to promote dissatisfaction among the officers and troops." See *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, col. 7331.



#### 40. To D.P. Singh: Objecting to "Undesirable" Speeches<sup>106</sup>

September 13, 1959

My dear Dinesh,

I have your letter of September 10th. I am writing in a hurry as I am leaving for Kabul soon.<sup>107</sup>

It is true that I have not been very pleased with some of your speeches. They seemed to me to be rather going on the lines of Uma Charan Patnaik's, though not so far. I think Patnaik's speeches in Parliament are often not at all desirable.<sup>108</sup> His tone is bad, his insinuations are undesirable and the content of his speeches has little merit. I did not like the idea of a young man of merit like you drifting in this vague direction.

So far as the question of transport aircraft is concerned, not only the Defence Committee of the Cabinet but I personally discussed this matter and went into it deeply on many occasions before we came to a decision.

I am glad to learn that I was wrong in imagining that you were getting information from officials of the External Affairs Ministry. I do not at all mind your putting forward suggestions to me or otherwise and often your suggestions have been good, but I had a feeling that the way you did it was not wholly right.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 41. To Vishnu Sahay: Appointment of Additional Secretaries<sup>109</sup>

I agree that a special officer should consider the report of the Pay Commission. It is not clear to me, however, why an officer, who is Joint Secretary now, must necessarily be made an Additional Secretary for this purpose. I have all along felt that the appointment of Additional Secretaries should be avoided as far as possible, though it may be necessary occasionally. I remember that a Cabinet Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, I think,

106. Letter to Dinesh Pratap Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gonda, UP.

107. See items 108-110 in this volume.

108. See the previous item in this volume.

109. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, 23 September 1959.

said that there should be no further Additional Secretaries.<sup>110</sup> We need not go quite that far. However, if the Finance Minister still thinks it necessary that an Additional Secretary should be appointed, I shall have no objection.

## 42. To Vishnu Sahay: Portuguese Case <sup>111</sup>

I have gone through these papers rather thoroughly. I wanted to refresh my memory of past events and therefore, I read through these previous papers and then read again the recent notes, more especially that of the Law Minister. I have consulted the Home Minister and also had a talk with the Law Minister.

2. In regard to the Junior Counsel, there can be no doubt that Mr. Cooke should be engaged, as he has been connected with this case for several years.

3. So far as witnesses are concerned, I agree with the Law Minister that we cannot leave out three of the principal persons who were connected with these transactions, that is, Shri H.M. Patel,<sup>112</sup> Shri D.N. Mitra<sup>113</sup> and Shri K.B. Rao<sup>114</sup> apparently cannot give any positive evidence, but to leave them out would necessarily lead to adverse presumptions against us. This will apply to Shri H.M. Patel also, although in the circumstances, and because of recent happenings, Shri H.M. Patel's evidence is not likely to be helpful at all. Before we can decide this question finally, we should act according to the Law Minister's advice, that is to say, that there should be talks with these three persons and, if possible, draft statements from them should be taken on the issues in the suit. This work should be done, as suggested, by the Secretary of the Law Ministry. Thereafter, these notes with our comments should be sent to our Counsel in England who should be told everything about the proposed witnesses.

4. An important question remains to be decided, that is, as to who should be our Senior Counsel. The Attorney-General has suggested Mr. Gerald Gardiner, Q.C., and the Law Minister has said in his note that we should accept

110. A one-man committee, under N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, The Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government, was constituted under the Reorganisation Secretariat in 1949. The committee recommended that the Central Secretariat should be divided into 37 primary units of organisation consisting of 28 Departments, 8 Central Administrative Offices and a Cabinet Secretariat. See Virendra Kumar, *Committees and Commissions in India 1947-73*, Vol. I (Delhi: D.K. Publishing House, 1975), pp. 92-94.

111. Note, 24 September 1959.

112. Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

113. Solicitor to the High Commissioner in London.

114. Officer on Special Duty (Executive Director), Ministry of Commerce and Industry.



the Attorney-General's advice in this matter. We would naturally attach importance to the Attorney-General's advice and there can be no doubt that Mr. Gardiner is one of the top ranking Common Law lawyers in England. If we were starting on a clean slate in this matter, I would have no hesitation in recommending the engagement of Mr. Gardiner.

5. But we are not considering this matter for the first time and much has happened. Two years or more ago, we had to consider the question of Senior Counsel for the purpose of taking advice in this case. At that time our Solicitors recommended various names. The first name to be recommended was Mr. Gardiner's. Sir Frank Soskice's<sup>115</sup> name was also given in the list recommended.<sup>116</sup> After full consideration and a reference to the Defence Minister, we decided in favour of Sir Frank Soskice and he was consulted. On several occasions subsequently, he has also been consulted in this case. There can be no doubt that he was given to understand that he would be engaged by us as Senior Counsel. Because of that we gave him practically no fees at that time or some relatively small sums. To go back on all that has been done in these two years and the impressions that have been given, would normally be undesirable. Of course, if this was a vital matter, one would have to do it.

6. There is another aspect of this matter. Sir Frank Soskice is certainly one of the ablest lawyers in England with a considerable reputation. It may well be that Mr. Gardiner has a bigger reputation for commercial cases. But, broadly speaking, there can be no very great difference between two very eminent lawyers. The other aspect, however, to which I attach some importance, is that Sir Frank Soskice has been, for a considerable time past, very friendly in political and like matters with India. His approach, therefore, to matters concerning India and us is something more than that of a lawyer whom we engage. In case like this particularly, this factor has to be borne in mind and would induce us to prefer Sir Frank Soskice to others.

7. Then there is the fact that the Defence Minister, who has been connected with this case, has himself recommended strongly Sir Frank Soskice two years ago.

115. British lawyer and politician, who handled India's Portuguese case before the International Court at The Hague. See SWJN/SS/34/pp. 229-230.

116. The MEA's 2 September 1959 letter to Ravi Bangar, the First Secretary of the Embassy of India at The Hague, listed the legal team recommended for the oral hearing of the case, "Right to passage through Dadra and Nagar Heveli," before the International Court of Justice, for two months from 6 September 1959: Maitre Rolin, Professor Waldock, Professor Guggenheim, Le Quesne (all British), and Cabral, the Portuguese Assistant at the High Commission of India in London.

8. Because of all these factors, I have felt that it would be unwise to change our Counsel at this stage and that we should retain Sir Frank Soskice as Senior Counsel in this case. But, because of the weight to be attached to the Attorney-General's opinion, I consulted the Home Minister. He was clearly of opinion that because of the factors mentioned above, it would be better for us to engage Sir Frank Soskice. I then had a talk with the Law Minister, who told me that he had recommended Mr. Gardiner's name because the Attorney-General had preferred him and recommended him. He himself thought that Gardiner had a bigger reputation for such cases than other Counsel, but it was equally true that Sir Frank Soskice was an able lawyer and had a good reputation. Whatever difference there might be between the two, could not be great. On the other hand, the fact that Sir Frank Soskice was sentimentally attached to India and would thus approach the case not only as a lawyer but some kind of a friend was in his favour. In the balance, therefore, he said that it would be preferable to engage Sir Frank Soskice as Senior Counsel.

9. We are having a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee tomorrow afternoon. Perhaps, if it is considered necessary, we might mention this matter then. On the other hand, this may not be considered necessary, as I have consulted two of our colleagues in the Cabinet who have dealt with this matter in the past. The third, that is, the Finance Minister, is not here.

10. Instructions should, therefore, be sent to our High Commission in London. In these instructions, it should be stated that we have given careful consideration to the question of engaging Senior Counsel in this case. You may state that the Prime Minister has consulted some of his colleagues in the Cabinet. While we attach importance to the Attorney-General's advice, we have felt that there are certain other aspects which have to be kept in mind. Sir Frank Soskice is certainly an able lawyer with considerable reputation, even though Mr. Gardiner might be considered more expert in such cases. But the fact that Sir Frank Soskice has been dealing with this matter for more than two years and has been repeatedly consulted by us and we have in fact followed his advice, does make it a little difficult for us to change over at this stage. Sir Frank has done much of the work for us during these two years without charging any special fees and we have certainly given him the impression that he would be our Senior Counsel. Also, Sir Frank's approach to Indian questions has been that of a friend, in addition to that of a lawyer, and on a case like this, that kind of friendly approach has value. Because of all these reasons, we feel that Sir Frank Soskice should be engaged as Senior Counsel.

11. Mr. Cooke should continue as Junior Counsel.

12. As for the witnesses, we feel that leaving out some of the prominent persons mentioned, namely, Shri H.M. Patel, Shri D.N. Mitra and Shri K.B.



Rao, would raise presumptions against us. For the present, therefore, we propose to discuss this matter with them and, if possible, take draft statements on the issues of the suit. This work will be done by the Secretary of the Law Ministry.<sup>117</sup> Thereafter, these statements, with our comments, will be sent to our Counsel in England for him to settle the question of witnesses. Counsel will, of course, be given full information about Shri H.M. Patel, Shri D.N. Mitra and Shri K.B. Rao.

13. You will inform the Defence Secretary about this note and the action to be taken. Also, Law Secretary.

### 43. To Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra: Withdrawal of Habibullah<sup>118</sup>

29th September, 1959

My dear Tunku,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th September about Major General Habibullah. Actually this letter was handed to me by your High Commissioner on the 25th September evening. I had to leave Delhi that very evening for an important meeting of our All India Congress Committee at Chandigarh.<sup>119</sup> I left instructions, however, for the matter to be considered by our Defence Ministry and the Army Headquarters immediately. I returned from Chandigarh this morning.

I am sorry for the difficulties that have arisen in regard to Major General Habibullah.<sup>120</sup> We have considered him a good officer. Probably, after his experience in India during the last few years, he found it difficult to function for long under British officers. In India, with the attainment of independence, thousands of British officers had to leave our army. For a short while we kept a British Commander-in-Chief and some expert trainers. Soon, however, even the Commander-in-Chief became an Indian and our army has been, therefore, completely a national army since then.

117. K.Y. Bhandarkar.

118. Letter to Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

119. On 26-28 September 1959.

120. Former Commandant of the Indian National Defence Academy, had been sent as the Deputy General Officer Commanding, Malayan Federation Army, in April 1959 for two years. His return to India was reported in a news item, "Deputy G.O.C. recalled to India", in *The Straits Times*, 16 October 1959, p. 1, thus: "He has been recalled for service with the Indian Army—'to meet its increased commitments,' an official statement said today." No other reasons were given.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Major General Habibullah was normally retiring from the Indian Army this year and we extended his services in the Indian Army for the period of his secondment to the Government of the Federation of Malaya as a gesture of friendship. In view, however, of the circumstances stated in your letter we agree that General Habibullah should revert to the Indian Army to save unnecessary embarrassment to all concerned. An official request for the recall of General Habibullah is being made separately through our High Commissioner at Kuala Lumpur.<sup>121</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### **44. To O. Pulla Reddi: Production Schemes in Defence<sup>122</sup>**

I should like to have a brief note prepared giving me information about the progress being made in the various Defence Establishments in regard to our production schemes. Thus, (1) how far have we progressed with the manufacture of trucks at Jubbulpore, (2) the various articles we are making in cooperation with the Japanese, (3) the aircraft we are making at H.A.L., more especially the Gnat, and (4) any other major schemes.

**(g) Social Groups**

### **45. To Bhakt Darshan: Tibetan Refugees in Uttar Pradesh<sup>123</sup>**

September 6, 1959

My dear Bhakt Darshan,

Your letter of September 2nd about Tibetan refugees coming into the U.P. I am not aware of any marked incursion in our borders, nor has any information reached us about Chinese activities on the other side of the border. If necessary arises, of course, steps will be taken. I do not think it is feasible to spread out

121. S.K. Banerji.

122. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, Defence Secretary, 30 September 1959.

123. Letter to Bhakt Darshan, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh.



our defence forces over distant and widely spread borders, unless there is absolute necessity for them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (h) Language

## 46. In the Lok Sabha: English, Hindi, and Artificiality<sup>124</sup>

### “MOTION RE. REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE”

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further consideration of the following motion moved by Shri Govind Ballabh Pant on the 2nd September, 1959, namely:

“That this House takes note of the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language laid on the Table of the House on the 22nd April, 1959.”

The hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:<sup>125</sup> May we take it that the debate will be continued till Monday?

Mr. Speaker: I think we shall finish it today. All that was asked for was some extension of time. We shall sit till 6 O'clock as we have been doing for the past few days. The non-official business will start at 3-30 P.M. That will leave us 2½ hours. Thus, from now, we will have 2 hours....(Interruptions). We can go on talking endlessly about this. There must be conclusion of this debate. I have called upon the hon. Prime Minister.

श्री जगदीश अवस्थी (बिल्होर): अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सदन के बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने पुरानी परम्परा को तोड़ करके कल हिन्दी भाषा में भाषण

124. Discussion on the motion, 4 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6432-6448.

125. Socialist Party, MP from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

किये हैं। मैं प्रधानमंत्री से भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम आज तो वह भी हिन्दुस्तानी में भाषण दें।

[Translation begins:

Shri Jagdish Awasthi: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to say that many Honourable Members gave speech in Hindi yesterday, breaking the old tradition. May I request the Prime Minister to make his speech in Hindustani at least today?

Translation ends.]

अध्यक्ष महोदय: हिन्दुस्तानी वह जानते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Speaker: He knows Hindustani.

Translation ends.]

श्री जगदीश अवस्थी: आज कोई परीक्षा तो नहीं है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Jagdish Awasthi: There is no examination today.

Translation ends.]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुश्किल यह है कि जिनको समझाना चाहते हैं हमारे मित्र, उनके कान तक आवाज न पहुँचे और दिमाग में न आये, तो समझा नहीं सकते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the difficulty is that my friend wants to make some Members understand something, but is not possible to do so if their ears are closed and their minds are not receptive.

Translation ends.]



श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री (गुड़गाँव): दानों भाषाओं में बोलिये।

[Translation begins:

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri: Please speak in both the languages.

Translation ends.]

Shri Viswanatha Reddy:<sup>126</sup> Sir, if the hon. Prime Minister speaks in Hindi, we shall not be able to understand.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker,<sup>127</sup> Sir, after the minor excitements that we experienced a little while ago, it is a little difficult to come back to the calm atmosphere of a debate on language. Although perhaps this debate on language has not been quite as calm as it might have been and there has been some excitement and some passion introduced into it, yet, even while this debate has been going on and important questions were considered—because the question of language is very important—I have had a vague feeling that the debate was slightly out of date or will soon be out of date. Why do I say so? Because this whole debate, this whole approach is governed by a static conception of India, as if India was not changing and India is not what it is. We carry on in the old way. What is happening in India? Apart from the rest of the world, a new world is growing up. It is coming in upon us with giant strides, even though many of us may not quite realise it. In two ways it is coming in upon us, and both ways are such that they will affect the question of language more than, if I may say so with respect, any decision of this House; or, rather, the decisions of this House will be governed by these forces.

What are those forces? One is the obvious fact of the growth of, call it democracy, education, vast numbers of people coming into the field of political decision. Whether it is by means of elections or otherwise, all these people come in and a vast number of them, a great majority of them have no background of a foreign language in them. That is a fact of life. It is not a question of choice. It is so. And the more they come in, the more they will change the scene—for good or bad is a different matter, opinions may differ. We who sit here, many of us, belong to a generation which was brought up differently, that is, brought up through the medium of English, through English as a medium of

126. Congress, MP from Rajampet, Andhra Pradesh.

127. Sardar Hukam Singh.

education. Obviously, that is not being repeated even now in India and will still less be repeated in the future, so that the whole context of this argument is changing.

The second point, which I think is important to bear in mind, is that the new world that is growing up in India is going to be a scientific, technological and industrial world. We talk about Five Year Plans and all that. We talk in terms of some project here, some there. But if you look at the whole picture, it is a picture of an entirely and absolutely new world growing up in India. It is the industrialisation of India, it is the industrial revolution coming to India in the middle of the twentieth century, rather belated no doubt, and trying to catch up with the developments of the twentieth century.

Now, may I ask, what has all that got to do with language? I say it has everything to do with language. We seem to think of language as something either writing in government files, may be for the primary or secondary schools, or may be for a mushaira or kavi sammelan. It is all that, of course, I do not deny it; but it is something vast and something basic which moulds the people, and it has moulded all the activities and occupation of the people. If this industrial revolution comes here, as it is coming and it is bound to come, it changes the texture of our thinking and it introduces words without number which you have to use in these new occupations, and all the efforts of Dr. Raghu Vira<sup>128</sup> and Seth Govind Das<sup>129</sup> cannot meet that situation, whatever it may be. They may produce volumes after volumes of artificial words, so-called translations. Nobody will accept them, you can take it from me, because that language of science and technology will not come out of your class-room or translator's room. It will arise from the people who are working there.

These are two major developments that, I say, will affect language, because they affect our entire life, and the decisions that you may make will really be governed far more by these vast developments than by some technical resolution that you may or may not pass. I just wish to say that this is the background with which I should like to approach this question, with which I should like the House to approach this question, because, if I may say so with the utmost respects to this House, we Members of this House are able men, experienced men, but by and large we do not represent the scientific, technological, industrial world; "industrial" not in the sense of ownership of industry, but of the engineering side of it.

This is the world we are entering into, and this revolution is coming on. That revolution, as it has affected other countries, powerfully affects language,

128. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

129. Congress, MP from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh.



thousands and thousands of new words coming every year from technology, science, etc., and those people who suggest to set up some translation bureaus for it. I respectfully say, have no conception of the meaning of those words. Translations of some scientific words and symbols which have grown out of certain contexts and conditions cannot be done so easily as if it is an artificial thing coming out from some slot machine; it is important to remember that.

Now, having said that and unburdened myself to that extent, I should like to say that this Committee of which my friend and colleague the Home Minister was the Chairman has done I think quite a remarkable piece of work. I do not pretend to agree with every line that they have written and I do not want anybody here to agree with every line that they have written. It was, after all, a very difficult problem, people thinking quite differently being brought together in a large committee and miraculously agreeing, except for one or two or three or two and a half, whatever it may be. It really is remarkable that this measure of agreement you give up something here, something there, which I may like, which many of the hon. Members may like. I agree. But, broadly speaking, it was rather a remarkable feat and a feat which I doubt if anyone else except my colleague the Home Minister could have brought about. As I say, I do not like some emphasis here or some lack of emphasis there, but broadly speaking, in the way it has come out, I think it is a worthy report.

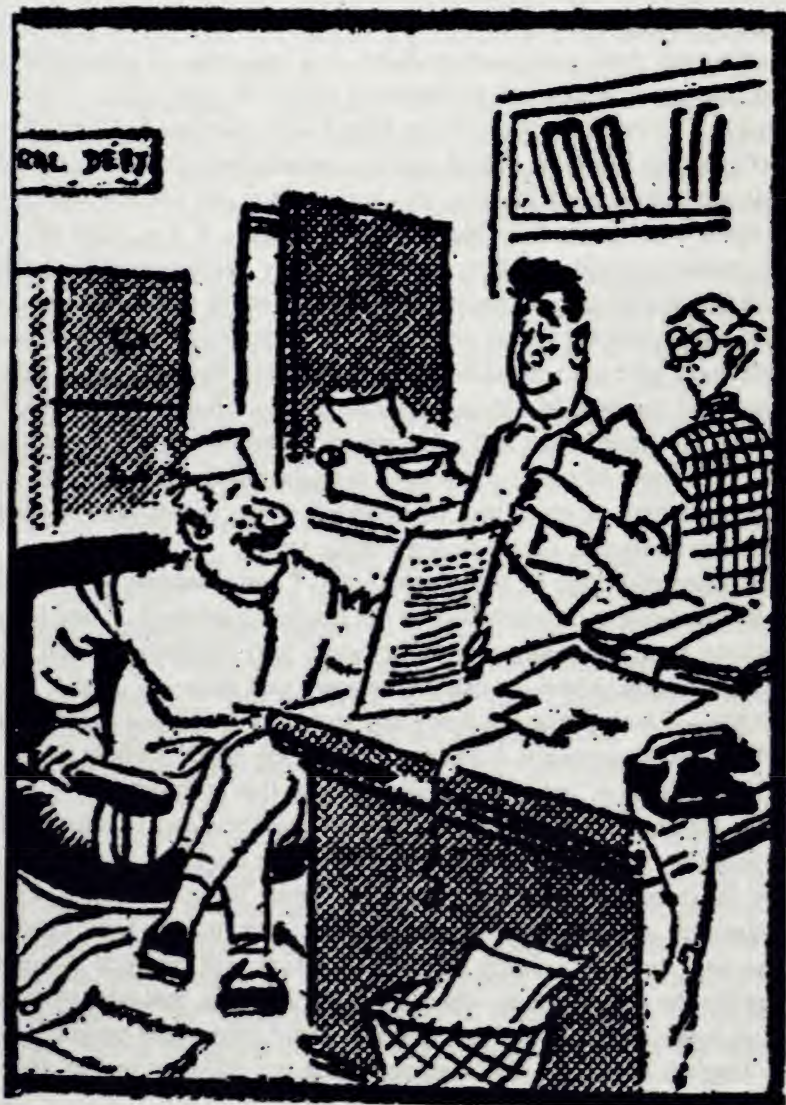
Now, some days ago or some weeks ago I had occasion to speak in this House on Shri Anthony's resolution on the English Language,<sup>130</sup> and it was my good fortune to say something which pleased Shri Anthony as well as some others. I am grateful to him for that. Whatever I said then—of course, I hold by it completely—I was not laying down any statute or law, I was emphasising an approach, a mental approach. I was not considering what words to use in a Bill or something like that, but a mental approach to this problem.

Let us consider the facts. Apart from our wishes, one of the basic facts today is that the medium of instruction has become the language of the region; the great language of India, whether it is Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, whatever you may like. That is the basic fact, and the basic change that has come over India is coming over India which will produce a generation utterly unlike the generation to which I belong to is this, that education will be through an Indian medium and not English. Apart from some people who may consider English as their mother tongue, which is a different matter, that is the basic change.

130. Frank Anthony, Nominated MP of the Lok Sabha (Anglo-Indian) from Goa, introduced a resolution to include English in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and was passed by the Lok Sabha on 7 August 1959.

## You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Don't you believe them. Your English has not deteriorated a bit. But your Hindi has assimilated English and various other regional languages!*

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 12 SEPTEMBER 1959)



I do not understand the importance, the relevance or the significance of this argument about Hindi-English etc. I am coming to that. But once you grasp this basic fact that the great regional language of India are now progressively the media of instruction, then you will appreciate the revolutionary change that is coming over India—for good or bad is another matter. It is an inevitable change which has to come, and I think it is a right change, although I realise that there are, certain risks and dangers in it—I mean to say risks and danger of a certain measure of separatism. I realise that. But you could not put an end to those risks by ignoring a problem; you have to face it.

So the first thing is this major fact, and it is that major fact that produces a certain result on the position of English in India. I want you to realise that it is not a question of Hindi-English, it is a question of the 14 languages—or more than 14, if you like, even though they are not in the Constitution—principally, for education being carried on through that media. That creates a situation which is broadly different from the time when many of us who went through schools or colleges got our education through the medium of English. That is the basic truth. Therefore, English inevitably becomes in India a secondary language. It is no longer the primary language. It does not matter what you may say about it; it becomes that. The House knows very well the importance I attach to English, and I shall come to that presently. The basic fact is that English becomes a secondary language in India. It is not the medium of instruction. It is a language to learn as a secondary language; maybe some learn it as a compulsory secondary language, but it is a language which is a secondary language and it can never quite occupy that place in our mind because it has lost that place in our educational system except for a few. That is the first, basic fact to be remembered.

The second is, obviously we require some kind of common language link and the Constitution has said that Hindi should be that common official language link. Remember it is for official correspondence or whatever it is—official work—between the States. Having found, apart from any decision in the Constitution, that the position of English is bound to go down in that way, it will come up in another way as I would point out. The argument that may be advanced for English to be this kind of official language for India really becomes very weak if you realise the first fact. Today, as somebody has said, there are plenty of arguments in favour of English. In fact, the fact is we do much of our work in English as everyone knows, and by a decree you cannot change it, because we have grown up into that. Tomorrow it may not be the case and the day after tomorrow it will still less be the case. These are the facts. You cannot ignore them, whatever your likes or my likes may be.

Therefore, you have a variety of reasons into which I need not go, but you have to have that common binding link for the language of India. You may

again criticise Hindi; it is not good enough; it has not developed enough. It is there. I will for a moment accept all your criticisms. Still, the fact remains, and it can reasonably be argued that no other Indian language, other than Hindi, would be more suitable. Mind you, I do not say that Hindi is in the slightest degree better than any other Indian language. In fact, I firmly believe that some of the Indian languages are richer in content and have a better literature than Hindi. But that does not take away from the fact that all the languages have to develop and to influence each other.

Now, the real basic opposition, I take it, comes from a fear that Hindi, if it comes in, will mean a disparity for the non-Hindi knowing areas. I say undoubtedly it will be a disparity. Let us face that. Let us not try to get over it and say anybody can learn it in a fortnight or in a month or a year. It will be a disparity for a considerable time. I say a rule must be laid down by which we do absolutely nothing which creates a disparity for non-Hindi-speaking areas, in regard to matters like services and other things. Let that be quite clear. I am quite clear about that.

Shri Mahanty:<sup>131</sup> Will you accept the quota system as was recommended by the Commission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry I do not know what the quota system is, and I cannot accept anything I do not know or understand. Take services. I am perfectly clear in my mind that for any foreseeable time there should be no compulsory bar-compulsory knowledge of Hindi—to the recruitment of people in the services. None at all. If a man does not know one word of Hindi, still, he ought to be able to come in at that stage. But I would certainly have him learn Hindi. Of course, I want him to learn it at an earlier stage too. Very probably he will. I am merely saying that this feeling of disparity should vanish. Shri Frank Anthony said, "Oh, the Prime Minister said that there will be no imposition of language. Therefore there should be no compulsory test in Hindi after coming in." I do not see how that follows. It is not a question of a compulsory test in Hindi. We may very well have compulsory test in English. Do you object to that? I think every person who comes into the All-India Services ought to pass a compulsory test in English. Will Shri Frank Anthony object to that? Probably not. I want that wider knowledge.

Suppose, an all-India officer is going to Madras. I would insist on his having a compulsory test in Tamil. These are the normal things that are done for convenience of administration and everything. The man for the all-India service

131. Ganatantra Parishad, MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.



ought to know the language of the place he works in. He normally tries to learn it. Whether he knows it well or not, I do not know. We send people abroad. To whatever country we send them, people in the Foreign Service are required, as a compulsory thing, to learn certain foreign languages. Each person has to choose one or two or sometimes three foreign languages. So, you must not look upon it as an imposition. When I said that there should be no imposition of Hindi, what I meant was this. Whether it is Madras, Andhra, Kerala or whatever part it may be, I do not wish to impose a language on that State in the sense in which the State will take it. I know if they have a sense of pressure or imposition they react against it. I do not want that. If the State of Madras says, "We do not want compulsory Hindi", let them not have compulsory Hindi in their schools. As a matter of fact, there are more people learning the language voluntarily than perhaps in any other place in any other way. So, I want to remove this sense of compulsion. I want to remove this idea that they will suffer in service or in the work or whatever it is. I want to remove that sense. I want all these things to develop voluntarily and in a spirit of co-operation and it is for us to adjust ourselves from time to time to these developments.

In his matter, as I said on the last occasion, we have to be flexible in our approach; no rigidity. I do not like dates and all that. We start movements and processes working which lead in certain directions and which we gradually adjust ourselves to.

I come to English. I had said that English should be an associate or additional language. What exactly did I mean by it? Well I meant exactly that that means. That is to say, English cannot be, in India, anything but a secondary language in future. In the nature of things mass education will be in our own languages. English may be taught as a compulsory language—I hope it will be—to a large number of people; it cannot be to everybody but to a large number. It remains as a secondary language. But I say that Hindi, whenever it is feasible, comes into use progressively more and more for the inter-state official work. But English should have a place there; not a limited place. That is to say, English can be used by any State in writing to the Government or writing to each other. Remember that this internal State work will be done presumably in the State language. English comes in only on the question of dealings on the all-India scale between States. To that, it should be open to anybody and to any State to do that in English. There is no limitation on that. We encourage them to do it in Hindi; if they can do. But there is no limitation. I say there is no limitation of time even to that, except when people generally agree—and I had said that those very people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas who might be affected should agree. I am perfectly agreeable.

I would submit to this House and more especially to our colleagues from

the Hindi-speaking areas that if there is one thing—there are many forces at work in favour of the spread of Hindi and they are spreading Hindi and it is becoming richer—that is going to come in their way, it is sometimes their over-enthusiasm and the way they approach this subject which irritates and rightly irritates others. It irritates me. I do not know about the non-Hindi-speaking areas.

Then there is another thing. The type of Hindi they produce is really a most extraordinary one. I am not worried about it; it is only irritating. Because I said that Hindi or any other language that will come up in India will come up from the masses; not from literary coteries.

Yesterday Acharya Kripalani was talking about Madras English, Bengali English, Bombay English and all that, which is completely right. But we have, today very much so, a Bengali Hindi, Madras Hindi and Bombay Hindi developing. To my ears, it is rather painful to hear. But I put up with it; there it is. But just like there is Bengali Hindi, there is Seth Govind Das Hindi and Dr. Raghu Vira Hindi. What Hindi are we going to have really? This business of some kind of slot machine turning out Hindi words and Hindi phrases, that kind of approach is an artificial, unreal, absurd, fantastic and laughable approach. You cannot do it. If you try to do it, you will put your mind in some kind of steel-frame which cannot understand anything or progress at all. It can only recite perhaps some slogans by rote. That is all. It can understand nothing else.

Coming to another aspect of English, the aspect that English has to be an associate additional secondary language which can be used by anyone who wants to use it in that central sphere, I mean, even though Hindi is the official language, English is used too, and I expect that progressively the use of it will become less and less. It does not make any great differences whether it takes a certain period or double that period, a little more or a little less; I do not mind.

Take another aspect of English to which I attach great importance and that is the technical and scientific terminology. There is no very great difference, although there is some difference, between the terms in English, French, German, etc. Broadly speaking, the scientific terms approximate, though their endings may be different. That is, there is something which might be called international scientific and technological terms. I am strongly in favour of not Hindi only, but every language of India trying to have identical scientific and technical terms. I do not say that every word should be absolutely the same and I do not want well-known words to be rejected. Well-known words whether in Hindi or Tamil, of course, will be used. But it is not a question of well-known words; it is a question of this vast ocean of language that is streaming in, the technical language, which cannot be reproduced. If you could translate it adequately, even if you did it, even then you do the wrong, because you would be separated



from the rest of the world in regard to those words.

It is necessary for us in the modern world to find as many common points of knowledge as possible. We cannot change and we need not change the literary part of our language. That has developed and will develop. But so far as this unknown region, which is getting more and more known is concerned—the scientific, industrial and technological region—we should develop to the best of our ability a common language in India, which is also common for international purposes.

Shri Hem Barua:<sup>132</sup> For the European languages Greek is the common pool. What is the common pool here?

An Hon. Member: Sanskrit.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no. I do not say Sanskrit or any other. It is true that words like oxygen originally came from Greek or Latin as a rule. I say you have to adopt them bodily, not every word, but common words you use. Any ordinary man does not ask your opinion as to what he should call a bicycle. He calls it a bicycle and be done with it. But there are those gentlemen living in Lucknow who insist on calling it Dwichakra is a very good translation.

Shri Frank Anthony: Longer than that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You could translate many things like that, but every villager knows what a bicycle is. You go about translating it and say, "No; bicycle comes from some foreign language". That approach is not good enough.

This is a very important matter—your absorbing this vast number of technical words in the form, as far as possible, that they are used internationally. It does not matter if they come from Greek or Latin. It does not matter if they come from English. But the point is, it is a body of language which you are not using for show. You want that knowledge; you want to advance industrially, technically, technologically and scientifically. You want to advance fast and every obstruction in the way will delay your advance or progress in that direction, which is essential for us to make good.

I need not say again about numerals. It is absolutely essential that we should use the international numerals. We might use any flowery way of writing we like, but in business, in science and technology, generally the international form

132. PSP, MP from Gauhati, Assam.

of numerals should be universal in India in all the languages and should be the common factor for foreign languages too. Not that I object to any other form being used, but one should encourage in every serious work—I do not mind novels having anything—in every statistical work, the use of international numerals which immediately puts us on a line with others. You can take a book in almost any language—Russian, German or Japanese. You do not know the language, but it is a statistical book and you can easily understand it, because all the figures are in that form which you know. You understand the numerals. The headings you can change and you can marginally note it, so that you can use the world's statistical tables. In Japan, they have adopted this; almost everywhere in the world they have adopted this. Immediately the door opens out to the world's numerals, to the world's statistics and everything; if you keep your statistics in that way, the world looks at your statistics. If you insist on keeping it in a particular way confined to you, you are cut off from the rest of the world. So, these things are obvious.

Language, of course, is a very vital thing. But behind it is something much deeper. It is the reaction-action and reaction and counteraction—of two powerful pulls. One is the pull of the past, which is important and which we have to maintain. The other is the pull of the future. The pull of the future means the pull of what might be called the modern world, of science, etc. I do not think that it would be right at all for us to ignore the pull of the past. It is vital to us; we have grown up in it. For all that India is after 5,000 years, we cannot cut it off. Among other things, that is where language comes in.

I have on a previous day expressed my great admiration of Sanskrit. There are many things, of course, but I do think that there is one thing which can embody the greatness of Indian thought and culture in the past; it is Sanskrit, which has been built up. We do not talk Sanskrit now no doubt, but the Indian languages of today have either directly descended from Sanskrit, or the Southern languages have been closely allied with it. The background of thought, of culture, whether it is Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and what not, is closely allied to the background of thought and culture of the northern languages because of Sanskrit and its effect on the whole of India. I do not say all of it is good; we have to change it; we have to discard something, but there are the roots on which India has grown up. I think if we cut away those roots, it will be very very bad for us; we become superficial human beings. Therefore, with all my admiration of foreign languages or English—I want English to continue for a variety of reasons, as I have said—I can never ask our people to transplant their roots to English roots. It cannot be done and it would not be done under our democratic adult suffrage. It does not matter what you argue about it, but this would not be done. Therefore, it is important. Language comes in as an important and as a



continuing link for ages past, and that link has transferred from Sanskrit to our modern Indian languages. That is one thing, the great events of the past and the heritages that we have. The other is the future to which we look forward, a future which may be called, to a large extent, influenced by modernism and the like, the modernism of the future, the spirit of the age, call it the Yuga Dharma, which is science, which is technology and the like. And I say so with all respect that all the languages of India put together cannot produce it in the foreseeable future, unless you have recourse to something else, to some other languages—of course, our language will be growing rapidly and our languages, I hope, will be developed with heavy books and thinking in science—because we have to spend millions and millions. Because, the moment you go to higher regions, it cannot be re-produced by artificial translations and text-books. It is something entirely different.

Therefore, the real conflict in the mind of India today is—language is only a part of it—how to bring out a synthesis from this past, from this heritage of the past to what we want in the present. That is the conflict and it is a basic conflict. I do not know what the ultimate result of this will be.

I referred on the last occasion I spoke here to a lecture delivered by a very well-known author and scientist about the two cultures. He was talking about England and the two cultures were literary culture and the culture of modern science. He said there was conflict even in England. I imagine, if that is so in England, what about this country where we are just barely entering the age of science. We glibly talk in terms of science. We are out of that age. Our minds are out of it. If I use industrial words, a rich man may buy up a textile mill and may make money out of it—rich people go on becoming richer and richer—but he understands nothing about military. He can buy an expert and make money out of it, but he is not an industrialist; he knows nothing about science.

So, that is the basic conflict in the soul of India and many other countries too—this past that we value and that must be valued and the future that we ought to have if we want to survive. Because, we cannot survive with all the past that we have got, unless we add to it the future, the future of science, of technology and all that. How far we can bring about that synthesis, the future will show. I hope it will, because there is no other way.

Now, in our approach to language, broadly speaking, we should be flexible, because the moment rigidity comes in, difficulties come in, opposition comes in. And if we adopt this approach which is given, I think we shall succeed both on the issue of language and on that basic issue, the synthesis between old and the new.

(i) Judiciary

47. To G.B. Pant: Removing a Judge<sup>133</sup>

September 22, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I have your letter of September 22 about the complaint against Justice P.B. Mukharji of the Calcutta High Court.<sup>134</sup> I entirely agree with you that the least can be done in this matter is to call upon this judge to resign. It would be wholly inadequate to transfer him.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

133. Letter.

134. The press does not seem to have reported anything on this matter, nor does Pant's published correspondence with Nehru refer to it. However, D.G. Bhattacharyya claimed in his memoirs that Mukharji was denied of his promotion to become Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court owing to a charge of "corrupt practice" in buying the house he lived in at a throw away price. He stated that: "I was sorry when I learnt that Justice Mukherjee was denied his promotion of becoming the Chief Justice in Calcutta High Court on the charge of a nearly corrupt practice in buying the house he lived in at a throw away price. This happened when another brother Judge set aside the sale and passed very adverse comments on Justice Mukherjee's conduct. The matter went upto the Government of India and it is rumoured that the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru himself wrote a note stating that Justice Mukherjee must never be given promotion. However the ban was removed through the efforts of a prominent barrister-at-law, one Snehangshu Kumar Acharya, who was a personal friend of Jyoti Basu, the powerful Chief Minister of West Bengal and a henchman of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Justice Mukherjee became the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court during Jyoti Basu's regime and retired from that post. As Justice Mukherjee was appointed a Judge at a very young age, namely 42, he would perhaps gone upto the Supreme Court and become the Chief Justice of India. His youngest brother Sabyasachi Mukherjee, however, became the Chief Justice of India many years later." Mukharji became the Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court on 25 May 1970. See D.G. Bhattacharyya, *Random Reminiscences of a Police Officer under Two Flags* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2003), p. 190.



## (j) Media

**48. To B.V. Keskar: CBS Film on Population Growth<sup>135</sup>**

September 24, 1959

My dear Balkrishna,

My attention has just been drawn to the case of some American producer having come to India to make a film on population growth in India. The person who has come is Abe Weston of the C.B.S.<sup>136</sup> He was recommended to us by our Ambassador in Washington<sup>137</sup> and the proposed film was sponsored by Edward Murrow who is not only a distinguished figure in the television world, but has always been consistently friendly to India.<sup>138</sup> When Weston came here, he was briefed by External Affairs and he agreed to be careful and objective.

Now I find that your Ministry has sent a note dated the 16th September to External Affairs stating that "the matter has been carefully considered in this Ministry and we are of the view that the subject matter of the proposed film is liable to misinterpretation and distortion and it may prove embarrassing for Government to collaborate with the producers in the making of this film."

This has put us in a very embarrassing position. After some months of encouragement given by us to these people, they have to be told practically to wind up or that we cannot help them in any way. I think this is wrong and would be injurious to us.

I do not personally see why we should be afraid of films which show our poverty. These are the facts of life in India, and we need not pretend to be better than we are. The question always is about the motive of the persons making the film. So far as I know these people, and I know Ed Murrow fairly well, his approach to India has been good. It may well be that some of the scenes he brings out are not beautiful to look at. We must take that risk.

But the point is we have gone too far to withdraw and this will create a very bad reaction against India. I should, therefore, like you to look into this matter immediately. These people are working under our close supervision and are anxious to meet our wishes as far as is possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

135. Letter to B.V. Keskar, Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting. File No. 8/130-XPR/59, p. 3/corr., MEA.

136. Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS).

137. M.C. Chagla.

138. He worked for the CBS from 1935 to 1961.

### III. DEVELOPMENT

#### (a) Economy

#### 49. To H.C. Heda: Cooperatives in Bihar<sup>1</sup>

September 9, 1959

My dear Heda,

I enclose a letter I have received presumably from some Bihar MPs. We should certainly like to encourage all cooperatives of this kind. But it seems to me difficult to lay down a rule that higher prices should be accepted from cooperatives. Such a rule would be misunderstood and lead to complications. As a matter of fact, normally the cooperatives should do the work for less, subject, of course, to good quality etc. You may point this out to the Members who have written the letter. At the same time, you can send the letter to the Railway Minister.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 50. To S.K. Dey: Only One Job at a Time<sup>3</sup>

September 11, 1959

My dear Dey,

Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh<sup>4</sup> came to see me today. He was much agitated that your letter communicated to him the decision of the Central Committee on Community Development and Cooperation to the effect that a Minister should not be a Chairman or office bearer of a cooperative organisation. I told him that I considered this decision completely right. I was really astonished at his agitation, but as he had recently recovered from serious illness, I did not wish to upset him again. Ultimately, he left me with the request that I might look through various papers he had given me about his National Cooperative Marketing Federation.

1. Letter.
2. Jagjivan Ram.
3. Letter to S.K. Dey, Union Minister of Community Development and Cooperation. Also copied to S.K. Patil.
4. Minister of State for Food and Agriculture.



I have no doubt that our decision is a right one but I suggest we might go a little slow about enforcing it in so far as Punjabrao Deshmukh is concerned. I am referring the matter to S.K. Patil who will deal with him on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 51. To DAV College, Ambala: Planning Forums in Colleges<sup>5</sup>

### “NEHRU URGES ACTIVE WORK IN VILLAGE”

AMBALA, Sept. 16

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru has suggested to the planning forums in colleges to organise active work in the villages involving physical labour, besides conducting socio-economic surveys.

In a message to the national plan week celebrations of the local DAV College Planning Forum, Pandit Nehru has said: “There is nothing like physical labour and productive activities to train a person and put him in tune with our people and our national activities. I do not mean some kind of showpiece and some people going and digging for a while. The work should be worthwhile and continuous. Perhaps different groups could take up different nearby villages. In doing so it is quite essential not to go to the village in a superior way to teach the villagers. The approach has to be friendly, cooperative and a little humble so as to gain the goodwill and confidence of the people. There are far too many fissiparous tendencies in India, and even in our villages. They can only be got over by solid activities which will divert people’s minds into right channels.”

### No Slogans

The Prime Minister added that he attached considerable importance to the college forums where planning problems were discussed. “This is the only democratic way of dealing with our country’s problems. Planning, of course, covers all our major problems. They would not solve them merely by slogans or merely by an emotional approach, although emotion in right causes is always good.”

5. Report of message, 16 September 1959. From the *National Herald*, 17 September 1959.

Action Needed

The Prime Minister said: "In India we face progress of colossal dimensions. This is not merely because of the size of India and our population, but the nature of these problems. The only way to solve them democratically is for large numbers of young men and women to give thought to them and thereby train themselves for future action. Thought and discussion are necessary. But they are only good if they are followed by action. In fact, thought and action have to be intimately allied if they are to be effective."

Shriman Narayan

Mr. Shriman Narayan, member of the Planning Commission, who presided, said that it was a matter of great pride for the members of the forum that the Prime Minister had evinced keen interest in their activities directed towards the implementation of the Second Plan and had spared time to send them an inspiring message.

The exhaustive messages he said, contained a valuable piece of advice to young men and he hoped that they would make a planned and creative effort to follow it up. He wished that the forum should chalk out its future plans of activities in the light of the Prime Minister's advice.

**(b) Food, Agriculture and Irrigation**

**52. To B.C. Roy: Chief Ministers to Take Food Portfolio<sup>6</sup>**

September 4, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

You wrote to me two or three days ago and reminded me of a suggestion I had made to Chief Ministers some time back.<sup>7</sup> This was to the effect that owing to the very great importance of the food portfolio, the Chief Ministers themselves

6. Letter, reproduced from Saroj Chakrabarty, *With Dr. B. C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers: A Record Upto 1962* (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974), pp. 421-422. Also available in JN Collection.

7. On 1 September 1959, B.C. Roy had written asking whether Nehru was going to suggest to Chief Ministers, at the forthcoming NDC meeting of 5 September, that they should assume the food portfolio, which he had advised some months earlier.



might take charge of it. This is so. I did make this suggestion. I think that at the present moment the question of food production etc. is of the highest importance, and it would be a good thing if Chief Ministers took charge of it.

You are very heavily burdened already. It might be worth-while for you to get rid of some of your other portfolios and take up food.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

### 53. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Export Aggressively<sup>8</sup>

September 6, 1959

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Thank you for your letter of 6th September telling me about the position of our exports. I am glad you have written to me at some length. Broadly, I agree with the approach you are making to this important problem and I shall help you to the best of my ability. While it is perfectly true that our conventional exports have to be encouraged in every way, it is equally true that we must constantly search new avenues of exports. We must function, not as routine Government departments do, but in a live, positive and rather aggressive way. We should be prepared to take moderate risks even and we should not be afraid of getting out of old ruts.

You refer to vegetable oils. I am sorry to note that the export of these oils has gone down greatly. I wish you could export them more and more, not only because that will help us, but also because I am getting rather doubtful of encouraging consumption of such oils in India. Medical opinion seems to be divided.

Also, in regard to oil cakes and various other articles, you have mentioned, such as, potatoes, onions, pulses, chillies, etc.

Prima facie, it seems to me right that some of the profits of the S.T.C. might be earmarked for encouraging exports and even perhaps meeting some losses sometimes. That appears to me a wise policy. There is no question of the S.T.C. taking up everything, but it might extend its activities cautiously.

I agree with you that this subject requires a good deal of rethinking and the adoption of bold policies. At any time too much rigidity is not good. In a developing economy, rigidity means restricting development.

# You Said It

By LAXMAN



*What's more we may even start exporting one day!*

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 13 OCTOBER 1959)



You ask me to write to the State Governments. I might do so. As a matter of fact, I have not written my Fortnightly letter for about two months now. This is very unfortunate. In regard to some of these matters, it would be a good thing for the Food & Agriculture Ministry to write to the State Ministries.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 54. To CPP: Food Production<sup>9</sup>

### “NEHRU HAILS U.P. EXPERIMENT”

New Delhi, Sept. 8

At a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party today, Prime Minister Nehru referred to the experiment in farming carried out at Banthra in U.P. where agricultural waste land has been transformed into fertile land at comparatively low cost.

He said this experiment had been hailed by the International Botanical Congress in which countries like Canada were represented. The experiment might prove to be a revolutionary step. There were about 30 lakhs of waste land in U.P. and if that could be brought under cultivation it would increase food production substantially.

The party had an inconclusive discussion on the food situation in the country.

Mr. S.D. Patil (Bombay) Mr. Bibhuti Mishra (Bihar) and Mr. Ahmed Mohiuddin (Andhra) were the three members who expressed their views at the meeting.

The appointment of a commission to find out why food production had not increased and to recommend measures for increasing production was among the suggestions made by them. The general stand taken by the NDC to stick to state trading was welcomed.

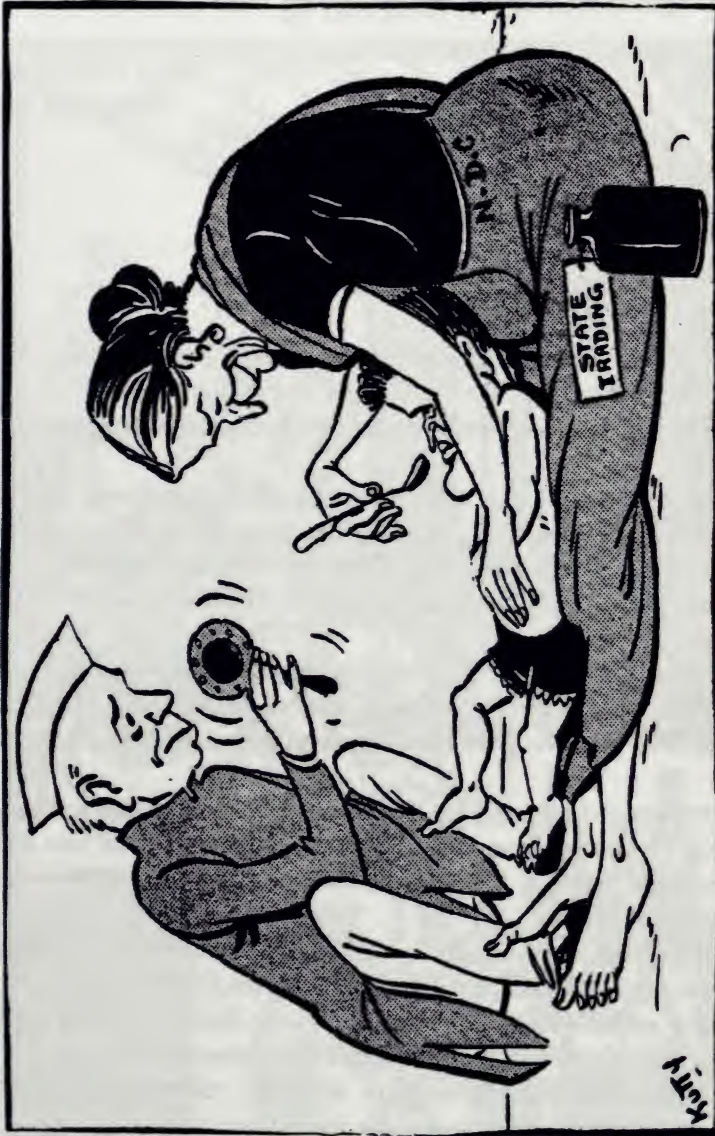
Another suggestion made was that prices should be checked in cities and large urban areas even if it involved subsidising by the Government.

One member asked why the Government were following the policy of exporting castor cake from the country while they imported fertilisers.

Mr. S.K. Patil, Food and Agriculture Minister, reserved his reply till Thursday when the party is likely to resume the discussions.

9. Report of speech, New Delhi, 8 September 1959. From the *National Herald*, 9 September 1959.

*'Good For You'*



*It was announced after the National Development Council meeting that there will be  
no change in the food policy.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 SEPTEMBER 1959)



Earlier in the day, Mr. Patil informally exchanged views on the food problem at a meeting of the party's standing committee on food.

#### 55. To S.K. Patil: Improving the Rice Crop<sup>10</sup>

September 11, 1959

My dear S.K.,

I give below an extract from a letter from Professor J.B.S. Haldane.<sup>11</sup> This is about some experiments being conducted by Subodh Roy<sup>12</sup> about a second rice crop from the same rice plant. This, of course, would mean a great deal if it succeeds, and Haldane thinks it is likely to succeed.

"Subodh Roy is repeating his rice experiments in a big way this year at 7 places. However one is at the Institute, and two others are within ten miles. He is now beginning to pluck some crops, pulling heads off but leaving the leaves. He expects second crops in about 6 or 7 weeks. If they look hopeful, I want you to come here for a day and look at the plants before the second harvest. Of course, the thing may be a wash out. But if we can get a second crop in October even half as big as the 1st in September, it is what the country needs. But if it looks hopeful, it is most important that the method should be put into operation at once, instead of waiting a year till it has been checked through 'the proper channels'. You may be able to produce a shortcut."

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Letter. File No. 31 (99)/59-61-PMS.

11. Geneticist and evolutionary biologist with the Indian Statistical Institute at this time.

12. As Professor of Botany, Subodh Kumar Roy worked in the Biometric Research Unit of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

**56. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim: Haldane's Article on Diving<sup>13</sup>**

September 11, 1959

My dear Hafizji,

I enclose an article by Professor J.B.S. Haldane, F.R.S. This is, I believe, going to appear in the "Hindu" of Madras.<sup>14</sup> I think that what Professor Haldane says deserves attention, and we should get in touch with him and seek his advice in this matter of diving. This might help us in the work to be done at Bhakra.

I am sending a copy of this article to the Governor of the Punjab, Gadgil. I am suggesting to him that he might consult his people there on it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**57. To Jagjivan Ram: Scheme of Thalís "Wasteful"<sup>15</sup>**

September 29, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I read in some newspaper of some new scheme of providing food for railway passengers.<sup>16</sup> It was stated there that Indian food in thalis would be given and the actual quantity was mentioned. So far as I remember, each person or each thali would have, according to this, twelve ounces of rice. If this figure of twelve ounces is correct, all I can say is that it is exceedingly wasteful and indeed harmful. In these days of some food difficulties, to be so lavish with rice seems to me very improper.

Personally I do not understand how anybody can consume so much rice at a meal. Perhaps a person doing hard labour and having nothing else to eat might be able to take so much, but an average railway passenger getting a full

13. Letter.

14. See Appendix 7, pp. 318-321.

15. Letter.

16. A press note issued by the Railway on 27 September 1959 said that the Janata meals would be sold in vegetarian refreshment at Varanasi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Tundla, Delhi, New Delhi and Jullundur City and would consist of one plate of rice (12 oz), one plate of dal (6oz), vegetable curry and chutney, priced at 62Np (10 annas), per plate meal. See *The Tribune*, 28 September 1959.



thali with many vegetables and other accompaniments plus this vast quantity of rice, cannot possibly consume it and it is wasted. From the health point of view also, it is bad.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (c) Industry and Labour

#### 58. To MEA: Oil Refinery in India<sup>17</sup>

The Soviet Ambassador<sup>18</sup> further spoke to me this evening about the oil refinery that it was proposed to put up in India with Soviet help. He said that discussions were going on and nearly everything had been settled except one matter. He did not himself remember what this one matter was. This delay in coming to a decision was unfortunate and would be harmful. It might delay the whole project by some period as the Soviet Government would have to place orders on their factories for the machinery and equipment required here. Further, it would mean delay in production, and that meant loss of a large sum daily or monthly. Thirdly, if the pipeline etc. was all ready and the refinery was not ready, that would also be wasteful and harmful.

2. Evidently he had been talking about this matter with Shri K. D. Malaviya, the Minister of Mines & Oil, but he felt that a reference to me might expedite decisions and thus save valuable time.

3. External Affairs Ministry might find out what the cause for this delay was and try to help in hastening matters.

4. Copies of this note are being sent to Sardar Swaran Singh<sup>19</sup> and Shri K. D. Malaviya.

17. Note to N.R. Pillai, SG, S. Dutt, FS, and M.J. Desai, CS, 12 September 1959. File No. 48 (25)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

18. Ivan Alexandrovich Benediktov.

19. Union Minister of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

**(d) Education**

**59. To P.T. Borale: Commemorating Persons<sup>20</sup>**

3rd September, 1959

Dear Mr. Mayor,

Thank you for your letter of August 31.

It is difficult for me to give advice on the subject you have mentioned. Personally, I am never in favour of statues. It is far better to commemorate a great man in some way which is useful to the nation. You have mentioned the proposal to have a Chair for Law. Certainly that is a good idea, or there might be scholarships, more particularly for people who lack the means to continue their studies.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**60. To Bernard L. Montgomery: Books on Gandhi and Nehru<sup>21</sup>**

September 9, 1959

My dear Field Marshal,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th August. It is a pleasure to hear from you.

I shall try to help you in your search for material. So far as Gandhi is concerned, there are many books. One of them runs into eight bulky volumes. But perhaps a book of a convenient size that might suit you is B.R. Nanda's "Mahatma Gandhi".

As for myself, I do not quite know what to suggest. In any event, I shall send you two books that I wrote long ago. One is my Autobiography written about twenty-five years ago. The other is called "Discovery of India". It was written about fifteen years ago. Both these books, of course, date and all kinds of things have happened since they were written. I have myself changed from an agitator to a respectable Prime Minister, and yet I sometimes think that the

20. Letter to P.T. Borale, Mayor of Bombay.

21. Letter to the First Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. Also copied to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.



most effective and vital part of my work was done in those old days of agitation and national struggle.

No book can do any justice to Gandhi. He was a very extraordinary individual with an amazing power to attract and influence individuals as well as masses of people without any of the normal tricks of public men. We disagreed with him often enough, but that never succeeded in breaking the bond which tied us to him. Such as we are is largely the result of his influence on us. He seems a very strange figure in the modern world and perhaps he would not have fitted in to any other country.

There is a book about me which has recently come out. It is by a Canadian, Michael Brecher, and is called "Nehru—A Political Biography"<sup>22</sup> As that is supposed to be an objective study by an outsider, it might give a more correct appraisal.

My sister, Mrs. Pandit, is here with me now on a short visit. She will be going back to England soon. I am giving her the two of my books for you. I am asking her to get the other books I have mentioned in England.

You will be welcome in India whenever you come and you can certainly stay with me for a few days. Whether I can be of any help to you in your quest, I do not know, but it will be a pleasure to meet you again and to have talks with you.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 61. To Ram Narayan Chaudhary: A Title for his Book<sup>23</sup>

12th September 1959

Your letter of the 12th September. The title you give to the proposed book, that is, "Nehru: In his and my eyes" does not seem to me quite appropriate. His and my eyes do not fit in. You can of course give your comments. Perhaps a slightly better title would be: In his own eyes or in his own language.

As I have told you, it would not be proper for me to be associated with your organisation in any way as a patron or in any other capacity. If the organisation does good work, it will have my good wishes. But it is important

22. It was published by the Oxford University Press in 1959.

23. Note, 12 September 1959.

that it does not come into conflict with other organisations and does not criticise them. Also that it works rather quietly without fuss and advertisement.

I have spoken to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon about it.

## 62. To Gandhigram: Message<sup>24</sup>

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of Gandhigram.<sup>25</sup> Two years ago I visited Gandhigram and carried away with me a vivid memory of the good work being done there.<sup>26</sup> I found in Gandhigram a happy synthesis of many types of approach about which people often argue elsewhere. Gandhigram has indeed become one of those places in India which fill one with hope and confidence for the future.

I am glad that our Vice-President is going to preside over this twelfth anniversary.

## 63. Birthday<sup>27</sup>

“PLAN TO HIDE ON BIRTHDAY: NEHRU DISCLOSES A SECRET”

New Delhi,  
Sept. 30.

Prime Minister Nehru to-day disclosed a “secret” about his coming birthday—November 14—when he will be 70.

After giving away the prizes to children who had participated in Shankar’s International Children’s Competition (paintings and writings) Mr. Nehru said with great feeling: “If anyone reminds me of my age, I do not like it. But how to hide this fact? Everybody knows it. I will tell you a secret provided you do not tell it to anybody. After some days my birthday will come. It pursues me howsoever hard I might try to get away from it. It does not leave me and I can’t get away from it. I had, therefore, decided that I will go away somewhere (without telling anyone) on that day and spend it peacefully and try to forget that it is my birthday. It was a secret but I have told you about it”.

24. Message to Gandhigram on its twelfth anniversary, 29 September 1959.

25. A rural college run on Gandhian principles and founded by G. Ramachandran and his wife T.S. Soundram at Madurai, Madras State. The twelfth anniversary was on 6 October 1959.

26. On 8 December 1957. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 36-43.

27. Report of speech, New Delhi, 30 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 1 October 1959.



The audience included members of the diplomatic corps who received the prizes on behalf of children from their countries.

#### (e) Culture

#### 64. To Humayun Kabir: A Copy of the Quran for the Shah<sup>28</sup>

September 12, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of September 12<sup>29</sup> about the Persian translation of the Quran which Maulana Ahmed Said<sup>30</sup> wants me to give to the Shahinshah of Iran.<sup>31</sup> I appreciate the desire of the Maulana to have this presented to the Shahinshah. But, on considering this matter fully, I felt that it would not be quite appropriate for me to make this presentation. I need not go into the reasons for it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 65. To S. Radhakrishnan: Rabindra Sadan and Visva-Bharati<sup>32</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 11th September with which you have sent a letter from Shrimati Maitraye. I quite understand her anxiety about Gurdudev's paintings books and other articles being properly preserved in a museum. Also that there should be a trained and competent curator for this museum. This museum will be in Santiniketan. In all these matters, therefore, we agree.

She does not appear to approve of the proposal that Rabindra Sadan should be under a trust board independent of Visva-Bharati. I do not quite understand

28. Letter.

29. In the letter Humayun Kabir commended this work as "a very fine copy both from the point of view of script and treatment."

30. A leader of the Jamaitul-Ulema-i-Hind, Delhi.

31. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

32. Note to the Vice President of India, 12 September 1959. File No. 40 (9)/65-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

her objection. The trust board will naturally have some important members of Visva-Bharati on it plus some others. I think that such an arrangement will give it greater importance and permanence than being tagged on to Visva-Bharati. Normally such museums are under separate trust boards.

But, in addition to the trust board, there should be a managing committee which will presumably chiefly consist of people at Santiniketan and belonging to Visva-Bharati. Thus the actual management will be local.

I have no strong views on this subject except that I want this museum to be a good one and to do some little justice to Gurdudev's memory. Naturally I want it properly looked after.

As you know, our present Chief Justice is likely to be the next Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati.<sup>33</sup> He will, no doubt, take great interest in this museum. In fact, he has spoken to me several times about it. We shall welcome any advice that he gives us.

I am enclosing a copy of this letter in case you would care to send that to Shrimati Maitraye.

(f) Health

## 66. To Asoke K. Sen: Amendments to the Patents Act<sup>34</sup>

September 6, 1959

My dear Asoke,

I do not know how the matter of patents and copyrights stands. For a long time past there have been discussions about revising our laws relating to them.

I am particularly interested in patents affecting drugs and medicines. In some European countries, it is specifically laid down that no such patents relating to drugs or medicines will be recognised. Could we not have some such thing in our laws? We may, of course, by agreement, recognise anything.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. S.R. Das agreed to assume office on 1 October 1959, after his term as Chief Justice of India. See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 459.

34. Letter. File No. 48 (25)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



#### 67. To D.P. Karmarkar: Officials, not Ministers for Television<sup>35</sup>

September 8, 1959

My dear Karmarkar,

Your letter of September 7th. I think that in a television programme dealing with population problem, it would be appropriate for the Director of Family Planning to appear in it.<sup>36</sup> I do not know what other officers are concerned with Family Planning. I have no objection to any other officer appearing briefly.

On the whole, I think that you should not appear in this programme.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 68. To K. Ram: Enovid Drug<sup>37</sup>

Yes, please send this to the Health Ministry and ask them to get me Colonel Raina's opinion on what Dr. Pincus<sup>38</sup> has written. Colonel Raina's previous objection to this drug had been that it had not been tried adequately on the women of the United States and that he did not like the idea of Indian women being experimented upon as guinea-pigs until he was certain of the results. Dr. Pincus, however, writes that large numbers of women in the United States have used this drug; also in other places—in West Indies, Japan etc. Further, the drug has been approved by the Food and Drug Administration of the United States and that the drug is now being sold in numerous countries throughout the world.<sup>39</sup>

If that is so, then I do not understand why we should raise any objection to trying it here in a proper scientific way. On receipt of a reply, I shall probably write to Dr. Pincus.

35. Letter to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of Health. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS.

36. B.L. Raina.

37. Note to K. Ram, PPS, 12 September 1959.

38. Gregory Pincus, director of research at the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, United States.

39. In 1957 the FDA had approved the drug called Enovid. See the US Food and Drug Administration's official website: <http://www.fda.gov/AboutFDA/WhatWeDo/History/ProductRegulation/SelectionsFromFDLIUpdateSeriesonFDAHistory/ucm092009.htm> (accessed on 22 February 2013).

**69. To K. C. Reddy: Balancing the Prices and Profits of Drugs<sup>40</sup>**

Raj Bhavan,  
Chandigarh

September 27, 1959

My dear Reddy,

I have remembered what I wanted to ask you. This is about the reduction of prices of penicillin. There have been repeated reductions recently, one following another. I suppose this is good. But how did it compare with foreign prices? What I mean is that while we should provide cheap drugs, we should also run our state undertakings with profit and use that profit for expansion and investment. I hope you are not forgetting the profits part in reducing the prices too much.<sup>41</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. Letter to K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 17/272/57-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

41. On 29 September 1959, S.T. Raja, the Managing Director of the Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., Pimpri, Poona, forwarded to Nehru its annual report for 1958-59 giving figures of increased output and reduced prices for penicillin and streptomycin.



## 70. To Vishnu Sahay: Who Should Deal with Child Welfare?<sup>42</sup>

I enclose a letter from the Secretary of the Indian Council for Child Welfare.<sup>43</sup> Child Welfare is a subject which is no particular concern of any Ministry. In a vague way, the Health Ministry deals with it, but they can think only of the health aspects.

2. I am much interested in this subject and consider it important. Mrs. Tara Ali Baig has suggested the formation of a Cabinet Sub-Committee. I am not quite sure how far this would be advisable. But some way out should be found to deal with this matter effectively. Can you suggest some suitable method?

### (g) Science and Technology

## 71. To K. D. Malaviya: Oil Exploration<sup>44</sup>

September 8, 1959

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of September 7th.<sup>45</sup> I have not the Cabinet papers with me and, therefore, cannot give any details. But all the sums asked for for oil exploration and exploitation were included in the list and were given priority in it.

The total list was deliberately made to cover 200 crores as it was thought that this would be courteous to the Soviet people, so that they might indicate some preferences about the smaller items. Possibly they might not be able to take some.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Note, 30 September 1959. File No. 40 (187)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

43. Tara Ali Baig wrote to Nehru on 11 September 1959 enclosing two resolutions of the Indian Council for Child Welfare. The first dealt with specialised personnel for child welfare, and the second with pursuing it as an aspect of creating human capital, and not as charity. Since so many ministries handled the subject, she suggested a Cabinet sub-committee for focus.

44. Letter to K.D. Malaviya, Union Minister of Mines and Oil. File No. 17 (214)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

45. See Appendix 4, pp. 308-309.

## 72. In the Rajya Sabha: Oil Exploration<sup>46</sup>

Shri V.K. Dhage: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether he is aware of the news which appeared in the *Hindustan Times* of the 27th August, 1959, that in view of the letter received by him from Lord Mountbatten, certain proposals are under Government's consideration to enlist active cooperation of all sources to implement oil exploration and production plan; and
- (b) if so, how far the news is correct?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Yes.

(b) Lord Mountbatten has not addressed any communication to the Union Government on this or any other subject. Several months ago, he wrote a private letter to the Prime Minister dealing with several personal matters. With this letter, he enclosed some other letters about oil exploration.

The Government has been consulting many experts from foreign countries in regard to exploration and exploitation of oil resources in India. They have been anxious to extend this work in the public sector under Government auspices. In view, however, of the vast area to be covered for exploration and the need for speed in this work, Government has also investigated the possibilities of utilising the services of expert agencies abroad in some areas of India. Along those consulted have been foreign experts from the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K., France, Italy and Rumania.

## 73. In the Lok Sabha: Atomic Power Stations<sup>47</sup>

Shri D.C. Sharma:

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:

Shri P.C. Borooah:

Shri Nanjappa:

Shri Tangamani:

Shri Assar:

46. On 8 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Written Answers, Vol. XXVI, cols 3212-3213.

47. Statement, 9 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 7047-7050.



Question:<sup>48</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the decision to establish an Atomic Power Station has since been taken;
- (b) if so, when and where it will be set up;
- (c) what will be its cost and capacity to generate power;
- (d) the number of such Atomic Power Stations that are proposed to be set up in the Third Five Year Plan period; and
- (e) where will these be set up?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (e). It is proposed to locate the first atomic power station with an installed capacity of approximately 250,000 kilowatt somewhere on the coast between Ahmedabad and Bombay, so that it may supply power to the Ahmedabad-Saurashtra and Bombay regions, which will ultimately form part of one grid. The exact location will depend upon several physical and technical criteria and has yet to be determined.

The Atomic Energy Commission on the present basis has assumed a cost of Rs. 1,700.00 per kilowatt of installed capacity which means that the cost of the power station itself will be in the region of 43 crores. The construction will take about 4 years but the preparatory work before commencement of construction will take about 1½ years. It is expected that electric power from the station would be generated towards the middle of 1965.

(d) The setting up of other nuclear power stations is under consideration but no decision has yet been taken.

Shri D.C. Sharma:<sup>49</sup> May I know if, for the purpose of this atomic power station, any foreign assistance has been asked for and, if so, from what country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No specific foreign assistance has been asked for this particular project. But there are allied projects for which it is possible to get some foreign assistance and that will be helpful.

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know if any Commonwealth country, besides Canada, is helping us in this atomic energy programme?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. Canada is helping us substantially in the erection of what is called the Canada-India reactor at Trombay. But regarding this

48. By the members referred to above.

49. Congress, MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

particular proposal, I do not think that Canada has anything particular to do with it.

Shri P.C. Borooah: May I know whether any coordination is being maintained with the Central Water and Power Commission, which is also installing conventional power in Bombay and Ahmedabad?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That question has been asked a bit too early to give an answer. So far as the distribution of electric power is concerned, there is bound to be co-ordination. So far as the production is concerned, there is, I suppose, a world of difference between atomic energy power production and hydro-electric power production.

Shri Narasimhan:<sup>50</sup> When the question of the second atomic power station is being considered, will due consideration be given to the water-starved State of Madras in the matter of location?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sure that due consideration will be given.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Nanjappa.<sup>51</sup>

Shri Nanjappa: My question has been answered.

Shri Tangamani: Regarding the second nuclear power station is it a fact that Dr. Bhabha has suggested that Madras will be a proper place for it in view also of the fact that it is mainly dependent on weather conditions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I have said, all the relevant factors have to be very carefully considered. At the present stage of progress, if I may say so, it would be unwise to have an atomic energy station, let us say, in a colliery, because coal is cheaper for the production of thermal power than atomic energy. But going further away, atomic energy becomes relatively cheaper. I am merely trying to explain: whether it is a case where it can be produced relatively cheaper compared to other methods and, secondly, whether it can be easily utilised in large quantities—these are the two major considerations.

50. Congress, MP from Krishnagiri, Madras State.

51. Congress, MP from Nilgiris, Madras State.



Shri Assar:<sup>52</sup> May I know whether we have got really sufficient number of Indian scientists to man these power houses when established?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, we have. I do not know the exact number but we have a very large number of very able atomic-nuclear scientists at Trombay and elsewhere, and their number runs into thousands.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta:<sup>53</sup> May I know whether the Rajasthan Government have also requested the Centre to set up an atomic station at Udaipur?

Mr. Speaker: There are 14 States. Also, the hon. Minister has already answered that all these matters will be taken into consideration. What else does the hon. Member want, unless, of course, the hon. Minister wants to say something?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing more which I can say. This is an advance in a new direction and it is important that the best and the most favourable location should be chosen to make it a success. After that it becomes easier to spread out.

Shri Tangamani: What will be the foreign exchange component for setting up the first atomic station in Trombay?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid, I cannot answer this question now.

## 74. In the Lok Sabha: Oil Exploration<sup>54</sup>

Shri Narayanankutty Menon:<sup>55</sup>

Shri Khushwaqt Rai:<sup>56</sup>

Question:<sup>57</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

52. Premjibhai Ranchhoddas Assar, Jan Sangh, MP from Ratnagiri North, Bombay.

53. Congress, MP from Mahendragarh, Punjab.

54. Statement, 9 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 7114-7116.

55. CPI, MP from Mukundapuram, Kerala.

56. PSP, MP from Kheri, UP.

57. By the CPI MP Narayankutty Menon and PSP MP Khushwaqt Rai.

- (a) whether it is a fact that he has received advice from Lord Mountbatten and Mr. John D. Rockefeller regarding Government policy of oil exploration;
- (b) if so, the nature of the advice received;
- (c) whether Government is considering this advice; and
- (d) if so, what decision has been taken in this regard?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Some months ago, Lord Mountbatten wrote a personal letter to the Prime Minister. With this letter, he forwarded two letters which dealt with matters connected with oil exploration. Mr. John D. Rockefeller has not written or spoken to the Prime Minister on this subject. Several months ago he met the Prime Minister at luncheon. The main topic of conversation was family planning.

(b) Government have been consulting many experts in foreign countries in regard to exploration and exploitation of resources in India. Among those consulted have been experts from the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., United Kingdom, France, Italy and Rumania. Government have been anxious to extend this work of exploration and exploitation of oil in the public sector under Government auspices. In view, however, of the vast area to be covered for exploration, and the need for speed in this work, Government have also investigated the possibilities of utilising the services of expert agencies abroad in some areas of India. Generally speaking, the advice received from abroad has been that in addition to what the Government of India was doing in the public sector, it would be desirable, from the financial and economic points of view, not to discourage oil companies from undertaking the task of exploration etc. in some parts of India. This involved very large financial expenditure as well as risks, and it might be advantageous for the Government of India, therefore, to utilise the services of oil companies or experts from abroad.

(c) and (d) As stated above, Government have consulted many experts on this subject. Their broad approach to this problem is to continue and expand the work of exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the public sector. At the same time, to investigate possibilities of associating foreign firms in this work in some other areas where the terms are considered to be suitable.



## **75. To Khrushchev: Congratulations on Space Research<sup>58</sup>**

Dear Mr. Khrushchev,

May I convey to you my heartiest congratulations on the success of the Soviet rocket Lunik II reaching the moon. This is indeed a magnificent achievement for humanity and in particular for Soviet scientists. May it be the prelude to even greater achievements in the establishment of peace and goodwill on earth so that science and human genius may succeed in ending the era of wars and human conflicts and bring in a new age of human cooperation for the advance of humanity not only in the conquest of space and nature's mysteries, but also in raising the spirit of man to ever higher levels.

I am sending this message to you from Kabul where I have met with a warm welcome and friendship everywhere. I would wish that this spirit of friendship should cover the world.

Please accept my good wishes for the work of peace in which you are engaged and for your good health.<sup>59</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **76. To H.J. Bhabha: Talks with the US Atomic Energy Commission<sup>60</sup>**

September 22, 1959

My dear Homi,

On return today to Delhi, I have just seen your letter of September 19th about the proposal to hold exploratory talks with the United States' Atomic Energy Commission.<sup>61</sup>

The apprehension of the Finance Minister about these talks was justified, but I think that the explanation you have given, should meet his objection. You can further make it clear in the course of any such exploratory talks that these

58. Telegram to N. Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the USSR, 16 September 1959.

59. Nehru sent this telegram through K.P.S. Menon.

60. Letter. File No. 17 (278)57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

61. See Appendix 9, pp. 323-324.

would have nothing to do with the ceiling of the loans which our Finance Minister was going to discuss with Washington. This is entirely a separate matter to be dealt with on the lines of the U.S.-Euratom agreement.<sup>62</sup> You can, therefore, have these exploratory talks as suggested, making this point clear and keeping in touch with our Ambassador and B.K. Nehru at Washington.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 77. To Cyrus S. Eaton: Pugwash Conference<sup>63</sup>

September 30, 1959

Dear Mr. Eaton,

I am grateful to you for your letter of September 4th and for sending me a collection of the papers of the recent Pugwash Conference of International Scientists on Biological and Chemical Warfare.<sup>64</sup> The previous meetings of the Pugwash Conference have produced some very interesting and important papers which I read with great interest. I am sure this latest collection will be equally helpful in bringing about international understanding.

May I congratulate you on the great service you are rendering to the cause of international peace and understanding by sponsoring these conferences.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. Agreement on nuclear cooperation and trade between the United States and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) countries, signed in Brussels on 8 November 1958.

63. Letter to the Chairman, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, Terminal Tower, Ohio, USA.

64. On 24-29 August 1959.



## (h) Town Planning

78. To B.C. Roy: Cheap Housing<sup>65</sup>

September 8, 1959

My dear Bidhan,

Mulraj Kersondas of Bombay, whom perhaps you know, has been producing various schemes for large scale building of small residential flats for the lower middle class. According to him, he has reduced the cost very greatly. He proposes to have a private corporation and wants no money from Government. Profits to be limited. Indeed, it is not really a profit-making proposal. I think the scheme worthy of consideration.

As this might interest you in Calcutta, I am sending you a note which he gave me. I am not sending you the designs of houses. But if you want to see them, these can also be sent.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

65. Letter. Nehru wrote similar letters to K.C. Reddy and Y.B. Chavan on the same day asking them to encourage the scheme as he felt that there was no economic "burden" on the Government.

## IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

### (a) Pakistan

#### 79. In the Lok Sabha: India-Pakistan Talks<sup>1</sup>

Shri Supakar:<sup>2</sup> Sir, under Rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:-

“The talks held between the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India on the 1st September, 1959.”

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The President of Pakistan reached Palam airport on the 1st September, 1959, soon after 11 o'clock in the morning. He was received by the Prime Minister and stayed at Palam about an hour and a half. For the greater part of this time, the President and the Prime Minister met by themselves and discussed various matters. Towards the end of this meeting, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan,<sup>3</sup> the High Commissioner of Pakistan in India,<sup>4</sup> the High Commissioner of India in Pakistan<sup>5</sup> and the Commonwealth Secretary of India were also invited to join in these talks. At the conclusion of this meeting, a joint statement was issued, a copy of which is attached.<sup>6</sup>

The talks between the President and the Prime Minister were informal in nature and were very friendly throughout. The President of Pakistan expressed his strong desire for neighbourly relations between the two countries and said that there was no problem between them which could not be solved in a friendly

1. Statement, 4 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6425-6428.
2. Ganatantra Parishad, MP from Sambalpur, Orissa.
3. Manzur Qadir.
4. Mian Ziauddin.
5. Rajeshwar Dayal.
6. The following is the text from *National Herald* of 2 September 1959: “The President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India met informally in a very cordial atmosphere at the Palam airport. Matters of mutual interest were discussed. They agreed that there was need to conduct their relations with each other on a rational and planned basis and not according to the day-to-day exigencies as they arise and the issues and other problems should in mutual interest, be settled in accordance with justice and fairplay and in a spirit of friendliness, cooperation and neighbourliness. They were glad to have had this opportunity of an informal exchange of views and they agreed to keep in touch with each other to further their common objective.”



way. The Prime Minister entirely agreed. No particular subject was discussed in detail. Casual reference was made to some of the problems between the two countries and the President pointed out that if friendly relations could be established between the two countries and fears and apprehensions of both of them removed, this could result in a reduction, on both sides, of expenditure on armament and thus help in releasing moneys for economic development. The Prime Minister agreed and added that in India the primary objective that they had before them was social and economic development and that they have embodied their programmes in their Five Year Plans. They felt that from every point of view this social and economic development, resulting in the betterment of the people of the country as a whole, was an essential and urgent task. This involved necessarily a very heavy burden and any saving on Defence expenditure would be welcome indeed.

Some reference was made to the discussions going on on the canal waters issue with the assistance of the representatives of the World Bank and the hope was expressed that these would lead to a satisfactory settlement.

Both the President and the Prime Minister expressed their great concern at the continuation of disputes and incidents on the eastern border. These incidents, often resulting in firing, had absolutely no justification and could do no good to anyone. They only harassed the local people concerned and vitiated the atmosphere between the two countries. It was agreed that everything should be done to put an end to these disputes and a procedure should be evolved for this purpose. Recently a Chief Secretaries' Conference had been held and the statement issued after this conference was a good one.<sup>7</sup> The difficulty was not so much in laying down good principles, but in implementing them. The President suggested that a high level conference should be held for this purpose. This conference should be at Ministerial level and senior Army Commanders and Chief Secretaries as well as representatives of the State Governments concerned should attend this conference.<sup>8</sup> Attempt should be made to remove the causes of disputes wherever possible and demarcation of boundaries should be expedited. A procedure should also be evolved to deal immediately with any incident that might arise on the borders in the eastern region. The Prime Minister entirely agreed with this proposal and it was decided that steps should be taken to have such a conference.

Reference was also made to the India Office Library in London and it was agreed that a joint approach should be made on behalf of India and Pakistan in regard to this library.

7. See item 1, fn 23.

8. See item 1, fn 24.

A similar approach should be made about the old Embassy and Consulate buildings which had been financed from the revenues of the undivided Government of India, but which are still in the possession of the United Kingdom Government.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:<sup>9</sup> May I ask to know whether the Prime Minister has decided finally about paying a visit to Pakistan while on his way to Afghanistan or on his way back?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of my deciding it. I have not considered it. It is not that I have any objection to doing so but in fact it is difficult. It is not on my way and it does not fit in with the programme which is a very tight one.

Shri Supakar: May I know if there were any talks or discussions about the Nehru-Noon agreement?<sup>10</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No. There was no reference to it.

Shri Vajpayee:<sup>11</sup> The President of Pakistan is reported to have stated at Dacca that the question of Kashmir was raised at the meeting. May I know if it was really referred to and if so, the nature of the discussion held about it?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The only reference to Kashmir was a single one. I think President Ayub Khan said that all our problems, even Kashmir were capable of peaceful settlement. I agreed.

## **80. To M.J. Desai: Bad Press in Pakistan<sup>12</sup>**

I entirely agree with the reply you have sent to our High Commissioner in Karachi. I think he is rather too precipitate in trying to fix up a visit by me to Karachi in November. I have absolutely no idea when such a visit can take place, and it will not be at all right for any hint to be given about such a visit at

9. Socialist, MP from Firozabad, UP.

10. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 547-558.

11. Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur, Uttar Pradesh.

12. Note to CS, 23 September 1959.



this stage or till the situation is clearer. As a matter of fact, November is a very full month for me here. In the first half of November, I have many engagements, and in the second half, Parliament will be meeting.

2. The recent articles in the Pakistan Press about my statement concerning the report of what President Ayub Khan spoke to me at Palam are a bad omen.<sup>13</sup> Why they should have gone out of their way to criticise me for my statement, is odd. I had said that the report was incorrect. To the best of my recollection, much of what President Ayub Khan is reported to have said to me, was not said by him. Part of it was certainly said. It is conceivable that he had all this in mind and only some of it came out. This kind of thing may create a wrong impression.

3. Anyhow, it was improper for such a so-called verbatim account to be given of a private conversation, without any reference to me. Any such account should have been passed by me and my reply also given. The account is given by the President's Secretary who was not present.<sup>14</sup> The inference is that it was dictated by the President himself.

13. *The Pakistan Times* in its issue of 11 September 1959 carried an article titled "The Visit to Delhi" by the Private Secretary to the Pakistan President Quadratullah Shahab, who had quoted Ayub as having told Nehru: "You have often talked about a no war declaration as the panacea for all Indo-Pakistan problems. We do not entirely disagree with that provided there is agreement about the machinery for the solution of mutual problems. Even if such a machinery were devised Pakistan could never be sure of Indian intentions as long as India continued to maintain three times our military strength." Continuing, the article said, "Talking with authority of an experienced general, President Ayub Khan added: In military thinking the material and crucial factor is capability. If a country has a decisive military power, it can always change its intention and act aggressively. We do not have to go very far to adduce examples of that. The nearest example is concentration of the Indian army against us in 1950 and again in 1951 while there was hardly any military cause for doing so." Outlining the basis of his talks, Ayub was reported to have told Nehru: "My belief is that your country and my country are pursuing policies which are dictated by drift more than any rational design. The reason is that we have no plan of neighbourliness with each other. I would not like the word co-existence because that to me is a rotten word and the embodiment of hypocrisy. In consequence, poor and innocent people in millions on both sides have suffered and will continue to suffer unless we have a rational plan of neighbourliness."

14. See fn 13 in this section.

(b) China

**81. In the Rajya Sabha: China at Sikkim Border and in Ladakh<sup>15</sup>**

“Reference to the Reported Advance of the Chinese army near Sikkim border and Infiltration of the Chinese in Ladakh”

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha:<sup>16</sup> Sir, with your permission, may I draw the attention of the Prime Minister to the news published in to-day's papers regarding the advance of the Chinese army near our Sikkim border and infiltration of Chinese in Ladakh? I would request him to inform this House and place the real situation before the House and let us know what is happening there. The second thing I would like to know is whether any reply or any communication has been received from the Chinese Government regarding these things and what is the nature and content of that.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Sir, it appeared in the newspapers that the Prime Minister has written to the Three Powers, apprising them of the situation with regard to the Chinese border. Also there is a report in the press that the Chinese Foreign Minister<sup>17</sup> has come out with a statement to say that he has not committed any aggression or has not occupied any land not belonging to them. Would the Prime Minister be able to throw some light on this aspect that has appeared in the press as this thing seems to cause great anxiety to the people here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yesterday evening in fact we received a reply from the Chinese Government to the protest we have made to them.<sup>18</sup> We received it through our Embassy in Peking. It is a fairly long reply and we are examining it fully. But broadly speaking the reply says that they have not committed any aggression, and in fact they have accused us of some aggression on that border and have asked us to withdraw from one or two areas which they claim to be

15. Reply to questions, 4 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, cols 2916-2920.

16. PSP, MP from Bihar.

17. Lu Cheng Hsiang.

18. See Appendix 2, pp. 304-307.



Chinese territory. The rest is an argument but this is the main purport of the reply. We are having that fully examined. As for what the Chinese Foreign Minister said, I believe he did say something to that effect; that is, he more or less supported the line taken up in the reply they have sent us; that is, they have not committed any aggression and in one or two places our patrols have gone into Tibetan Chinese territory.

As for Mr. Ganga Sharan's question as to what is happening on the other side of our border in Sikkim or elsewhere, it is difficult for me to say with any precision. Broadly speaking, there are very considerable numbers of troops, Chinese troops, in Tibet spread out and in the last few weeks or more, many of them were stationed on the Sikkim-India border, originally I think, with the intention perhaps of preventing the refugees from coming into India. So they are there. I cannot say in what numbers they are there. Then there was a reference to certain regions in Ladakh. It is rather difficult for me to make any accurate statement about that. But so far as the corner of the Aksai Chin area is concerned, that is the area across which the Chinese built a road two years ago or more, a road from Gangtok to Yarkand, which passes through that area, that has been and is claimed by the Chinese as their territory and I believe in their maps too, not the new maps but the old maps, that is shown as their territory.<sup>19</sup> That is disputed and there are two view points about that. I do not know how many Chinese are there. I cannot say because so far as we are concerned, we have no representative, we can have none. It is not an inhabited area so far as area goes. It is at an average of 16,000 to 17,000 feet altitude and treeless, grassless almost or hardly of any kind, without any living thing there. It is frightfully cold. So I cannot give any information as to how many Chinese may be in that particular corner of Ladakh-Aksai Chin area.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy:<sup>20</sup> The Chinese have come into our border and have built air-fields. The Chinese have sent a reply to our protest that we are more on the offensive than they are and even the other day the Russian Minister speaking in the Inter-Parliamentary Union said that they believed that India was on the offensive and not the Chinese.<sup>21</sup> Such statements by the Chinese and the Russians do cause us concern. Has the Prime Minister taken any objection to the statement made by the Russian Minister in a

19. See SWJN/SS/48/pp.465-471.

20. Congress, MP from Andhra Pradesh.

21. The 48th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was held in Warsaw from 27 August to 4 September 1959.

discussion in the Inter-Parliamentary Union saying that India was in the wrong and not China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, because we have no particular report of that or the context of it. Even the report that has appeared in the press is that that matter was raised at the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the Russian representative said that it appeared from the reports he had that India was more at fault than China. Some such phrase appeared. Naturally he must have received reports from China or wherever it is. There is no question of our objecting to every statement that a person makes.

Shri V.K. Dhage: I did ask another question as to whether the Prime Minister has apprised the three Great Powers with regard to the situation in this regard?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, Sir, not directly but as is usual with us, whenever any important matter occurs, we inform our various Missions abroad, we send them a report of the facts and the steps we are taking and we ask them wherever necessary to inform the Government concerned there. That is what we have done and in pursuance of that, I suppose some of our Ambassadors abroad brought these matters to the attention of the Governments concerned but there was no direct message from us to the Governments concerned.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha: Does the reply given by the Chinese authorities tally with our facts? Is it true that our people have encroached or infiltrated into their territory or something like that?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not tally with our version of the facts. Obviously that is why we are arguing and we are having this detailed reply and they have mentioned many things in it—names of places about which we have no information. We are trying to get information. In the next two or three days we will probably get more information so as to be able to reply to them as we propose to do in the course of a few days. May I mention to this House that we are preparing a kind of a White Paper which will contain the correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of China in the last 4 or 5 years, ever since our Tibetan Treaty.<sup>22</sup> That may not be cent per cent upto date in the sense that if I get a message today, it may not be in it but it will be fairly

22. See, *White Paper I*, pp. 98-101.



up-to-date till the last ten days or so. As soon as it is ready, I hope before the Parliament adjourns, it will be placed on the Table of the House.

Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha: Regarding the information that is being collected, may I request him to place before this House as soon as the information is available because we do not know how many Chinese have come there. Just now he gave some information that in that place there is no habitation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, but I am afraid I cannot do so because I cannot get any information. It is totally—I will not say totally—but it is not within our reach. It will take, if I sent a party of explorers with exploring kit, about a month to get there.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Sir, there are also reports in the press that along our Ladakh and Tibetan borders, the Chinese are establishing some bases. Is there any truth in them? Has the Government got any information in regard to that aspect of the matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In Tibet?

Mr. Chairman: On Ladakh and Tibetan borders, he says.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Which side of the border? In their territory or our territory?

Shri Jaswant Singh:<sup>23</sup> In our territory.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly not, there is no truth in them.

Shri V.K. Dhage: I welcome the move of the Prime Minister to have a *White Paper* published on this matter and placed on the Table of the House. Would he also consider the possibility of having a discussion on that *White Paper* before Parliament adjourns?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know: it depends on many factors, on the time available and on the desirability of it. I don't know. Once the House sees the *White Paper* and knows what we are doing, then it will be time enough to consider what further steps should be taken.

23. Independent, MP from Rajasthan.

## 82. To V.R. Krishna Iyer: China Visit<sup>24</sup>

September 6, 1959

My dear Krishna Iyer,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 28th August. Should you wish to go to China, I have no objection to it. The Chinese Government seems to me to be suffering from a pathological outlook.<sup>25</sup> They have been very unfair to us. But, as I have said above, I have no objection to your going there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 83. To MPs: Border Disputes<sup>26</sup>

“P.M. does not see Major Conflict”

New Delhi,  
Sept. 7.

Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have expressed his belief at a meeting of the consultative committee of members of Parliament on external affairs today that China would not risk a world war by embarking on a major conflict with India.

He told the committee that he thought a war with India by China might spread into a global conflict.

He made these remarks in reply to questions after he surveyed the situation regarding the Chinese incursions for about fifty minutes. For the most part Pandit Nehru is understood to have given the historical background of the

24. Letter to V.R. Krishna Iyer, Advocate, Valanjambalam, Ernakulam and Law Minister in the former Communist Ministry of Kerala.

25. In a press statement which appears to be an extract of the letter which he had written to Nehru, published in *The Hindustan Times* on 20 October 1959, Iyer said: “China had certainly to keep to the MacMahon Line as the boundary of the two countries whether it had imperialist background or not. It is unfortunate that the People’s Republic of China should show signs of pathological conditions, use strong and violent language and trespass into Indian territory or even doubtful border areas. If China refuses to accept the MacMahon Line and establishes new boundary through a progress of military might, the duty of every Indian leaves no doubt in my mind.” He added: “He will be constrained to resist force by force but reciprocate friendliness by friendliness.”

26. Report of remarks made at a meeting of Consultative Committee of Parliament on external affairs, 7 September 1959. From the *National Herald*, 8 October 1959.



conflict of claims in respect of border areas. He is stated to have reiterated his willingness to have talks with China on conciliatory or mediatory processes to make border adjustments without amplifying his earlier statement. He conveyed the impression that any such attempt could be fruitful only in a cordial atmosphere. He said, however, that the Chinese Government had developed a cold attitude towards India. This was largely because they wrongly suspected that India had a hand in the Tibetan rebellion.

Some members are reported to have urged strong and urgent measures to clear the Chinese from Indian points occupied by them. He said this was largely a question of a correct correlation of political and military tactics. India surely would not take aggressive tactics by the Chinese lying down.

His attention was drawn to a statement by a former British Governor of Assam that the MacMahon Line did not exist and that some parts of NEFA were Tibetan in character.<sup>27</sup> Pandit Nehru is reported to have expressed surprise that anybody could say the MacMahon Line did not exist at all. As for the Tibetan character of NEFA parts, he said it was true there were people there of Tibetan origin but this did not mean that the region was not within India.

Replying to a question on Bhutan, he wondered if it would be realistic for anybody to say that Bhutan should develop its own special relations with other countries and not India and seek their help in her present difficulties.

#### 84. In the Lok Sabha: *The White Paper*<sup>28</sup>

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Permit me, Sir, before I lay this paper on the Table, just to make a brief statement and to clarify some misapprehensions. I find that in newspapers, news appears which, if true, would naturally be a matter of concern to the House. But, it is not always true. For instance, in one of today's newspapers, there is a report about something happening on the Punjab-Spiti border—that the Chinese have entered there and arrested some people and all that. I have not heard of it at all. I immediately got in touch, by telephone, with the Punjab Government. They had not heard any such thing. In fact, they said that it had not happened.

27. Sir Henry Twynam, who in 1939 was acting British governor of Assam, wrote in *The Times* of 2 September 1959: "The McMahon Line does not exist and never did". He suggested that the McMahon Line should be modified to run through Se La, a towering pass, a few miles to the South East of Tawang so that the Tawang monastery would be left to Tibet.

28. Statement, 7 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6694-6698.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Does he mean to say because the Punjab Government have not heard, "it had not happened"?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Their report is that, according to their information, it is not true. I cannot say more than what they have told me. They have definitely said on the telephone that there has been no violation of their territory in Spiti in that particular place.

Then again, there was another report that in Chini in Himachal Pradesh, some traders were arrested. We immediately got in touch with the Himachal Pradesh Government and we have not been able to get a detailed account. But we have had no such report from them.

Then again, there was a report in the papers about some firing by Pakistani forces somewhere in the east. Again, we have had no report. I enquired from the Defence people as they get daily reports. Till last night—no last evening—they had no report.

Shri Hem Barua:<sup>29</sup> The Assam Government has lodged a strong protest.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be some trivial thing—something which is not important.

Shri Hem Barua: Strong protests have been lodged by the Assam Government.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Protests may be lodged. I am merely saying that my information is that according to our Defence Ministry's account which comes in daily, they do not think it important enough to inform me. Minor things may have happened. I just wanted to clear this up; perhaps these are doubts and apprehensions in the minds of the hon. Members.

I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the *White Paper containing Notes, Memoranda and letters exchanged and Agreements signed between the Governments of India and China, 1954-59*.

I had promised to do so sometime back, and we are placing these papers. They are fairly up-to-date, but they do not contain the last documents received in the course of the last week. Before that they are up-to-date and I take it that the copies of hon. Members would be available in the Notice Office or somewhere.

29. PSP, MP from Gauhati, Assam.



Shri Vajpayee: Sir, may we know whether we would be given an opportunity to discuss the White Paper?

Shri Mahanty:<sup>30</sup> Sir, the hon. Prime Minister assured us a few days back that further developments concerning the Chinese incursions into Indian territory will be laid on the Table of the House and the House would be kept informed. There are two things that I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister. We are not concerned with the foreign policy matter. We are concerned more with the defence matter. We want to know what steps are being taken to defend this area as we have taken in the NEFA area. We despatched Assam Rifles and military to Subansiri Division. I would like to know what steps have been taken by the Government to defend the sacro-sanctity of the Indian territory in Ladakh.

Secondly, we are not merely interested in information. Our information may be right or wrong, we come here to be corrected. I would like to know if the hon. Prime Minister is going to afford us any opportunity to discuss this subject in the House.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member says I had promised to lay the developments on the Table of the House. I do not know how I can lay any development on the Table.

Shri Mahanty: Information about developments.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I said that I shall keep the House informed of any developments. So far as the NEFA border is concerned, there has been no development of note which I can bring to the notice of the House; at any rate, that has not come to our knowledge yet. So far as the defence of that area is concerned, the House knows that the matter has been put in charge of our Armed Forces and the Defence Authorities.

Shri Vajpayee: What about Ladakh?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The House will not expect me to tell them exactly what steps they take; that would not be proper for them or for the House. But they are in charge and, no doubt, they will take adequate steps. They will not, I take it, just rush about up and down the border, but they will take steps at proper points which they consider right places for them to hold (Interruption).

30. Surendra Mahanty, Utkal Congress, MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

Shri Mahanty: Sir, I rise on a point of order. We have been circulated a pamphlet by your Secretariat showing what portfolios belong to which Minister. The hon. Prime Minister is talking on food, on language, on all possible things on the face of the earth. What about the Defence Minister—we would like to know.

I am not saying this in any partisan spirit but in all seriousness. We would like to know from the Defence Minister what steps have been taken. The hon. Prime Minister says he does not know. (Interruption).

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand, Sir, how the Defence Minister can come in. I have just been making a brief statement. If the hon. Member had addressed any question to the Defence Minister or any other Minister they would have replied. He put it straight to me, and I had to say something. I know as much as anyone else does, and therefore I replied. But, no doubt, if the Defence Minister or any other Minister knows much more—anything more—he can reply, if you, Sir, permit. (Interruption).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. There ought to be an end to this. We are not having any discussion on any particular subject (Interruption). A paper has been laid on the Table of the House. It has to be studied. Enquiry was made whether hon. Members will have an opportunity to discuss it or not. That is before the Government. The Government would consider whether they can find time or not. That would be considered and then that answer would be made. What is there now that can be immediately done to satisfy the hon. Members? We have some other business before us; we should proceed with it. I would request hon. Members to wait.

Shri Vajpayee: I must say, Sir, that this House is being kept in the dark about the new developments that are taking place. I do not know why the Government should shut out a discussion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Member has any feeling that the House is being kept in the dark, I may say straightaway that I am prepared to have any discussion at any time you, Sir, like....(Shri Braj Raj Singh: Let us have it.).... if there is time.

I do not want any such impression to go abroad. We have placed every single paper here except the last three or four which have come to us. After they are printed, perhaps it would be possible for us to place them before the House—of course, they are being dealt with and examined at the present moment. There is no mystery or secrecy about it. But if the House wants to



know what particular steps our military or Defence Forces take, that is not a matter which is normally disclosed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They only want to know whether Government could find some time for a discussion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a question of time. It is your Committee, Sir, that judges it. I am prepared for it.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I just submit to the Prime Minister, Sir, that besides the treaties from 1954 onwards—I presume the hon. Prime Minister will also place before the House the new documents that have arrived—we would also like to have at least in the library all the documents which have been signed between Tibet, China and India prior to the successor Government which we have inherited. We would like to study them too.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know. They would be there in the form of printed books. There is no secrecy about them. I think the library is bound to have those books.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Our Secretariat shall collect them all from the books and compile them into one volume—we will try to do that.

## 85. In the Lok Sabha: Indians Arrested by Chinese Forces<sup>31</sup>

Shri P.C. Borooah: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Chinese forces have arrested 14 Indians belonging to Ladakh recently;
- (b) If so, the action taken in the matter; and
- (c) whether there is any information about the whereabouts of the Head Lamas of Hemis and Phiang Monasteries of Ladakh?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). According to the information received from our Consulate at Lhasa, five Indians are held in custody by the Chinese

31. Statement, 7 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6612-6616.

authorities in Lhasa. It is not clear whether they come from Ladakh. Our Consulate has protested to the Chinese authorities about the arrest of these persons.

We have also received some information about fourteen Ladakhi Lamas being in custody in various prisons in Tibet. But we have received no precise information about them. We have approached the Chinese authorities to permit Muslims from Kashmir as well as Ladakhi Lamas to contact our Consulate in Lhasa and to allow them to return to India if they so wish.<sup>32</sup>

Shri P.C. Borooah: May I know whether Government have any information about the number of Indians returning to Ladakh by Lhasa just prior to the starting of the trouble in Tibet? If so, what was the number and how many of them have been permitted to go back home?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no definite information. We have some reports about them. I say we have no definite information because people used to go from Ladakh without any formal papers being taken from us—passports. It is an old practice. Two types of Indians went there; the one were the Lamas and they went for study there; the other were Ladakhi Muslims who used to go there for trade. According to our old practice nobody need get the papers and most of them did not. So, we had no record. Subsequently, when we tried to find out we were told that about 400 Lamas from Ladakh were studying in the various monasteries in Tibet and about 124 families of Kashmiris, that is Ladakhi Muslims, were there. We have not verified these figures. The Chinese authorities have raised the point that these people are no longer Indian citizens if ever they were because many of the Kashmiris—Ladakhi Muslims—have been there for a long long time. That is a matter on which we are conferring with them.

Shri P.C. Borooah: Is it a fact that many of the Lamas and Indian traders while fleeing from Lhasa to Ladakh by the incoming route were machine—gunned by the Chinese forces?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have had no information about that.

32. *The Statesman* reported on 26 September 1959: "A party of 14 refugee lamas, who arrived in India recently from Sigatse said the Chinese have declared that only the very learned lamas would be allowed to continue their studies, the rest must work on roads. The refugee lamas now here are from Tashi Lhempo monastery which houses nearly 3,000 lamas. The monastery is under Panchen Lama, Chinese appointed ruler. Several groups of lamas from Gya Khanche and Tsu Khainche colleges of this monastery are on their way to India."



Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether these 14 Ladakhi Lamas who are in custody of the Chinese authorities in Lhasa are so because of mistaken identity? If so, may I know whether Government have taken any steps to establish their identity so that they might be released?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of mistaken identity. It is a question of a person establishing his nationality, not identity. Nationality is normally established by papers, passports etc. Now, they have no papers and passports except such oral or other evidence they might give. Immediately it becomes a little less definite although it might be established. It depends upon the authorities taking a strict view or a flexible view about it. They have said quite definitely that they are Indian nationals from Kashmir. It is true that in the past, sometimes to get over preliminary difficulties they have signed papers which, probably, go against them because they got some things done quickly. That comes up against them now.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:<sup>33</sup> Have Government received any definite information either through the Chinese authorities or through our own Consulate in Lhasa about the charges under which these Lamas are being held up in Lhasa and elsewhere?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What charges! I do not know whom the hon. Member is referring to. I do not know who these persons are who it is alleged are in prison. I have no definite information about them. I cannot even definitely say whether they are there or not. Complaints have reached us from their friends or other people taking interest in them. We are enquiring.

But the other case is a general case of their nationality; and, at the present moment, I do not suppose it is necessary to have a precise legal charge to put a person in prison.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: The Prime Minister just now said that persons other than the 14 Lamas are held up there. May I know what action the Government of India are taking to secure the release of these persons and whether any charge has been given to the Government of India under which they have been held up there? May I also know whether we may expect that they shall be released?

33. Congress, MP from Sasaram-SC, Bihar.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I said it is denied that they are Indian nationals.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I ask about the 5 persons except the Lamas.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not know. I have not got the detailed facts about them.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, the matter has been taken up with the authorities but we have not heard from them. Of these 5 Indians, who are registered with our Consul General and the 3 others are not registered. They are held in custody by the Chinese authorities.

Shri Vajpayee: In view of the fact that the MacMahon Line does not extend to Ladakh, may I know what steps are being taken to demarcate the border and to liberate the Indian territory that is now occupied by the Chinese.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That would be a different question.

Shri Vajpayee: May I submit, the hon. Prime Minister.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Boundary cannot be demarcated here in this question which is only a question of certain persons being taken into custody. Order, order. It may be very important but it cannot be the subject-matter of a supplementary question here.

Shri Vajpayee: If we give notice of an adjournment motion it is rejected on the ground that it is a continuing matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All that is not relevant here.

Shri Goray:<sup>34</sup> Just now the Prime Minister said that there are certain individuals about whose nationality there is some doubt but there are others about whose nationality there is no doubt. We have made representations about these two categories of people and we have not, so far, heard anything from the Chinese authorities. Is it to be taken that the Chinese Government will behave in this pattern always?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Who can say that?

34. PSP, MP from Poona, Bombay State.



Shri Goray: What do we do? We make representations about people about whose nationality we have no doubt. And we make representations about other people also and they do not give us an answer. What do we do?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, it is rather difficult for me to answer not on my own behalf but on behalf of other people that is, the Chinese authorities in Tibet. How can I answer on their behalf as to what they might do or might not do? They have done many things which I thoroughly disapprove of.

## 86. To Sampurnanand: Don't be Alarmist<sup>35</sup>

September 9, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have your letter of the 8th September.<sup>36</sup> Our relations with China are strained and are likely to remain so for some considerable time. You must have seen the White Paper we issued and you would probably see further correspondence in the press soon.

While this is so, and we have to be vigilant, I do not think it does anyone any good to be alarmist. The news appearing in the press is often based on rumour and without foundation. I do not think any Chinese have entered any part of the Punjab, in Lahaul or elsewhere. Nor do I think there is much chance of the Chinese rolling across the U.P. border with Tibet. It may well be, however, that when your police detachment is withdrawn from Hoti, the Chinese will come and sit there as they did once previously.

The scheme to which you refer, that is putting up buildings at a cost of Rs. 50 lakhs, obviously cannot be given effect to, quickly. What is more important, I should imagine, is a good road to these places.

Anyhow I am having this matter looked into.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. Letter.

36. See Appendix 6, pp. 316-317.

### 87. To K. Ram: Aksai Chin<sup>37</sup>

Please acknowledge this letter and thank him for it.<sup>38</sup> Tell him that we shall bear in mind what he has said. But, as a matter of fact, it will be difficult for us to take possession of that North-Eastern Ladakh which is called the Aksai Chin area. We have never occupied it except in some kind of vague theory, and the Chinese have been in possession for considerable time. They have always shown it in their maps as belonging to Chinese Turkestan.

2. You might send copies of this letter to:-

- (1) the Kashmir Government,
- (2) the Ministry dealing with Geology and Mining, and
- (3) Professor Thacker.

### 88. To D.D. Kosambi: NEFA Border<sup>39</sup>

September 10, 1959

Dear Prof. Kosambi,

Thank you for your letter of September 8. I agree with much that you say. Certainly the people of an area cannot be neglected or treated as if they were chattel to be taken by whoever is strong enough to do so. As a matter of fact, however, these large areas are hardly populated. In the North-East Frontier Agency (4/5th of which are in a sense claimed by the Chinese) there are primitive tribes sparsely spread out over a vast area. In the other places there may be very few small villages, but generally it is high mountain land.

The general principle adopted in this demarcation was to fix the line at the water-shed. That was a good principle. I think that Sir Henry Twynam's letter in the *Times* is not very relevant.<sup>40</sup> It may only be correct in regard to a narrow alignment here and there. The normal principle should be usage and geographical features, as I have suggested. Most of these areas have been photographed from the air.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. Note, 10 September 1959.

38. See Appendix 3, pp. 307-308.

39. Letter to D.D. Kosambi, an historian.

40. See item 83, fn 27.



## 89. In the Rajya Sabha: India-China Relations<sup>41</sup>

### “Motion Re the Present Relations between India and China”

The Prime Minister: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to the speakers who have preceded me, even though I do not agree with everything they have said. When we decided to have this debate today, it was because the House considered that a serious situation had arisen on our borders and in regard to the relations between India and China. Since that time, two days ago, something else has happened which has added to the gravity of the situation and highlighted certain aspects which were perhaps under a shadow then. Therefore, in a sense, this debate becomes all the more important, although perhaps it is being held a little too soon after these developments to permit all of us to consider this new aspect carefully and fully. Speaking for myself, as Foreign Minister, it is my business not merely to read the new reply from Premier Chou En-lai once, but many times, carefully, trying to understand what exactly it might mean.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, it would not be proper for me at present to deal with that reply at all fully or to refer to many of the points raised in it. It will no doubt have to be dealt with. As we have now taken Parliament and indeed the public into our confidence by publishing this White Paper, whenever our reply goes, that also would be published. As a matter of fact, only yesterday morning we sent a message to the Chinese Government in continuation of this correspondence and a copy of that message, I believe, has been placed on the Table of the House today. I do not know if hon. Members have read it or seen it. Yes, it is there. It was soon after we had sent this message that we began getting bits of Premier Chou En-lai's reply. It took a considerable time to come through. Therefore, I shall venture only to deal with certain aspects of it referred to by hon. Members which I consider important and not deal with Premier Chou En-lai's reply. One thing, however, I would like to say is, I often wonder if we, meaning the Government of India and the Government of China, speak quite the same language, if using the words or similar words we mean the same thing. Because often enough I do not follow the course or line of thought I hope I could follow a line of thought that is opposite to mine but I just do not follow; whether the basic way of thinking is different, I do not know. Secondly, and I know this from experience, the problem of translating Chinese into any other language is a terrific problem. I remember when Premier Chou En-lai

41. Statement, 10 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVI, cols 3895-3915.

42. See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.

came here for the first time five years ago and we sat down to draft a simple joint communiqué, it was originally drafted at his instance, on his suggestion, by me.<sup>43</sup> He looked at it and he approved of it. He knows some English and then his translator told him. Then it was translated into Chinese and then I was asked by him to change some of the words in the English draft because in the Chinese he did not like them, in the Chinese translation. I told him that I had no objection to changing them because they had no significance but I did not like what he told me in the Chinese draft. The matter was of no great principle or significance but it struck me then how immensely difficult it was to translate an idea from English or any such language into Chinese or vice versa. It struck me also then, and I have never been able to find a complete answer to this question which is troubling my mind, how Marx appeared in the Chinese language. I am quite sure that Marx or others must be different in Chinese from what it was in the original German or their translations in English or any other language.

So there are these difficulties that one grapples with. One grapples with another difficulty. It is all very well for Members here or for me to criticise something that has happened in China as we do and rightly do but I have not forgotten—and I hope nobody will forget—that before I understand what is happening in China or in relation to China, a big fact stares me in the face and that is a tremendous human upheaval in China which was going on there, the Chinese Revolution. My friend Mr. Sapru said something about the failure of the West to recognise the Chinese Revolution. It is not a question of your liking the Chinese Revolution or not liking it. It is a fact, a fact of tremendous significance to the world, by the size of it and by the content of it. Part of it may be good, part of it may be bad according to your thinking or way of thinking. It is neither here nor there but unless one recognises these major facts of history, your appraisal of the situation may be wrong, utterly wrong. So it has been that many of the troubles we have had in the international sphere have been due to the fact of a deliberate attempt not to recognise one of the major things in human history. That is so.

Having said that, I would venture to say that there appears to me to be a lack of understanding or recognition in China of the revolution in India and to that perhaps are due not only some of their misunderstandings but many of their approaches to India and to matters connected with India. It is true that we have been brought up—I am talking about recent history, not the long past—in a different tradition. We have been conditioned by different factors, we in India and they in China. True. Nevertheless, we ought to be wise enough to understand

43. On 25-28 June 1954. See SWJN/SS/26/pp. 365-412.



what has happened there, if not agree with it. And they ought to be wise enough to understand what is happening and what has happened here in India even though they do not agree with it. I find this lack of understanding and appreciation. We have tried, I hope, to understand them and to understand what has happened there. May be we have not fully succeeded but I believe we have to a large extent; at any rate there was this great attempt. I am not at all sure that there was even any attempt on the other side and I feel that just like certain Western nations, not now but throughout the 19th and half of the 20th century, in their pride and arrogance, ignored the rest of the world—they thought they were the leaders of the world and the rest of the world should follow them—so also there is a tendency in some of these Far Eastern countries to forget that there are other parts of the world which count. They forget that India is not a country which can be ignored even though she may speak in gentler language, as she has been accustomed to do not only recently but even in the past ages. The other day, some time back—I forget when—in one of our notes to the Chinese Government we said this. It is included in the White Paper and I shall read it out. It is on page 77 here, in the note embodying the conversation with our Foreign Secretary. It was amazing to get the note from China to which this is the answer: The Statement says:

(1) "The Government of India have learned of this statement with regret and surprise. It is not only not in consonance with certain facts, but is also wholly out of keeping with diplomatic usage and the courtesies due to friendly countries. It is a matter of particular surprise and disappointment to them that a Government and people noted for their high culture and politeness should have committed this serious lapse and should have addressed the Government of India in a language which is discourteous and unbecoming even if it were addressed to a hostile country. Since it is addressed to a country which is referred to as friendly, this can only be considered as an act of forgetfulness.

(2) "We have no desire to enter into a lengthy argument about facts or opinions, much less about the discourteous language used in the statement made on behalf of the Chinese Government. It has been the consistent practice of the Government of India to treat other countries with courtesy and friendliness, even though any country might express opinions opposed to theirs. With China they have endeavoured to maintain and develop friendly relations, and they propose to continue to do so in spite of the discourtesy shown to them by the Chinese Government. This is in consonance with India's past culture and background and Mahatma Gandhi's teachings."

And this is because of what seems to us a complete failure of the

Chinese Government to appreciate that we have what are called certain civil and democratic liberties here. This is in relation to Tibet and what has happened here, as if we could go and throttle everybody who disagree with us or disagreed with the Chinese Government. Then the note says:

(4) "The Government of India realise that the system of Government in China is different from that prevailing in India. It is the right of the Chinese people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere; it is also the right of the Indian people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere. In India, unlike China, the law recognises many parties, and gives protection to the expression of differing opinions. That is a right guaranteed by our Constitution and, contrary to the practice prevailing in China, the Government of India is often criticised and opposed by some sections of the Indian people. It is evident that this freedom of expression, free press and civil liberties in India are not fully appreciated by the Government of China, and hence misunderstandings arise".

Then again, on another matter it says:

(5) "From the statement made on behalf of the People's Government of China, it appears that, according to them, the Panchsheel or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence may or may not be applied according to convenience or circumstances. This is an approach with which the Government of India are not in agreement. They have proclaimed and adhered to these Principles as matters of basic policy and not of opportunism. They will continue to hold to these Principles and endeavour to apply them according to their own thinking".

I have read out extracts from that Paper. So there is this difficulty.

Dr. Kunzru<sup>44</sup> said that our foreign policy was in the melting pot. He also referred to our non-alignment and to Panchsheel being a slogan and an opiate and so on. I am sorry that Dr. Kunzru has failed to appreciate—he may disagree, but he has failed to appreciate—the basic reasons for our foreign policy. They were not based on merely being friendly to China or some other country—although we wanted to be friendly with other countries—but they were also based on a certain mental or other approach to this question. It is a basic thing. These principles are right—and I do claim that they are right and I should like any hon. Member here to tell me wherein they are not right. I have yet to find any one, not only here but elsewhere as well, who can say that they are not right, but only they say it is not right to say this to China or some other country.

44. H.N. Kunzru, Independent, MP from UP.



But a principle is a principle. It does not become unright or wrong because somebody whom you suspect to be not quite truthful, says it. Therefore, I do not understand what the present situation which has developed, serious as it is, has got to do with putting our foreign policy in what is called a melting pot. So far as I am concerned and so far as our Government is concerned, our foreign policy is as firm as a rock and it will remain so. It will be some other Government that may change it. The present Government will not and the present Government will hold to non-alignment, because it is a matter of principle, not of opportunism or the convenience of the day. That surely does not mean that we should not be vigilant, that we should not protect India's interests or India's border or whatever it is. Surely that would be a foolish inference to draw from it.

Dr. Kunzru referred to various mistakes of the past. He particularly referred to our keeping things back from Parliament. Well, Sir, what did we do? He said the other day when there was a debate here about Korea ...

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: Tibet.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, I meant Tibet. He said that then we did not make a full report or a full and comprehensive report to Parliament. Well, Sir, let us go back to that time, a few months ago. That was the time when the message from which I just now read out was sent. I don't quite know what more report we could make at that stage. We could, of course, have said something more. But so far as the border problems were concerned, the position then was as it had been for several years previously, because remember that the recent development, the very recent development, of the last few weeks, is a new development about the frontier problem. It is true that the Government of China had gone on producing maps which were incorrect maps to which we had taken exception. And they assured us that they would look into the matter and correct them where necessary later, these old maps. That was not an adequate or satisfactory explanation to give. Yet it was some kind of explanation and those maps continuing were an irritating feature in the landscape. Still there it was. We are not going to change maps by shouting about them. After all, in dealing with countries, we deal with them diplomatically or by methods of coercion and war. Where we rule out war and where these methods of coercion are silly in the case of such countries, we have to proceed diplomatically.

Right from the first few months of independence, in the first year or two, repeatedly I stated in Parliament that the MacMahon Line—I use that word for short; really I do not know why it should not be called the MacMahon Line; it simply means the defined frontier—was our frontier. When I say something in Parliament, it is meant for the outside world and it was meant, if I may say so,



for the Government of China. We said this to the Chinese Government in communication orally and otherwise too. Their answer was vague. I am talking about the maps. I saw no reason at that time—I am talking of a time about six, seven or eight years ago—to discuss the question of the frontier with the Chinese Government because, foolishly if you like, I thought that there was nothing to discuss. I think in the last letter Mr. Chou En-lai refers to this that I would not even discuss this.<sup>45</sup> I always recognised that they were minor matters, territories which had been considered disputable even before the Chinese came to Tibet. Those areas were there even in the British period. There were minor disputes and the Chinese inherited them and went on with them. We are prepared to settle those matters.

You may say that all the frontier matters might be divided into three parts. One is broadly speaking what is called the MacMahon Line from the Burmese border to the Bhutan border. Then comes Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Lahaul, Spiti and then you go on to Ladakh. You must treat these separately. When I talk about the McMahon Line, obviously it is only that area, not of the Ladakh area which is quite different. I am not going into the long history because I do not want to take the time of the House. It is a complicated thing but we have always looked upon the Ladakh area as a different area as, if I may say so, some vaguer area so far as the frontier is concerned because the exact line of the frontier is not at all clear as in the case of the MacMahon Line. When we discovered in 1958, more than a year ago, that a road had been built across Yehchong in the north-east corner of Ladakh, we were worried. We did not know where it was. Hon. Members asked, why did you not know before? It is a relevant question but the fact of the matter is that we just are not within hundred miles of that area. It is an uninhabitable area and it has not been under any kind of administration. Nobody has been present there. It is a territory where not even a blade of grass grows, about 17,000 feet high. It adjoins Sinkiang. We sent a party, practically of explorers, small group of six or seven or eight or ten, mountaineers and others, to find out about this. One of the groups of this party was apprehended by the Chinese Government and there was correspondence on this. The men belonging to that group were released later on. Now, possibly it was an error or a mistake or wrong on my part not to have brought that fact before the House. I am myself not clear, thinking back on that, what I should have done but our difficulty then was that we were corresponding with the Chinese Government and we were waiting for those people, that little party, to come here and tell us as to what happened to them. It took two or three months for them to come. The group which was apprehended by the Chinese was

45. See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.



released later and the men came back after some time. We thought at that time that it might be easier for us to deal with the Chinese Government without too much publicity of this incident. We might have been wrong but it was not a crisis or anything like that. However, I am prepared to admit that it was my error not to have brought this matter to the notice of Parliament when it occurred. For the rest, there has been no keeping back really of any information and we have kept Parliament fully informed. There have been plenty of questions.

Dr. Ahmad<sup>46</sup> said that there are no objective reasons for war. Of course, there are no objective reasons, no practical reasons, no sensible reasons or no reason whatsoever of any kind. Whichever way you approach it, it would be folly of an extreme type for us to fight over such matters. We may get excited about the sacredness of the Indian soil and the Chinese people may get excited about something they hold sacred if they hold anything sacred. That is a different matter but the fact of the matter is that nothing can be a more amazing folly than for two great countries like India and China to go into a major conflict and war for the possession of a few mountain peaks, however beautiful the mountain peaks might be, or some area which is more or less uninhabited. It is not that, as every Member of this House knows. When such conflicts occur, something happens which stirs our innermost convictions, something which hurts our pride, our national pride, our self-respect and all that. So, it is not a question of a mile or two or ten or even a hundred miles. It is something more precious than a hundred or a thousand miles and it is that which brings up peoples' passions to a high level and it is that which, to some extent, is happening in India today. It is not because of a patch of territory but because they feel that they have not got a fair treatment in this matter, they have been treated rather casually by the Chinese Government and an attempt is made, if I may use the word, to bully them.

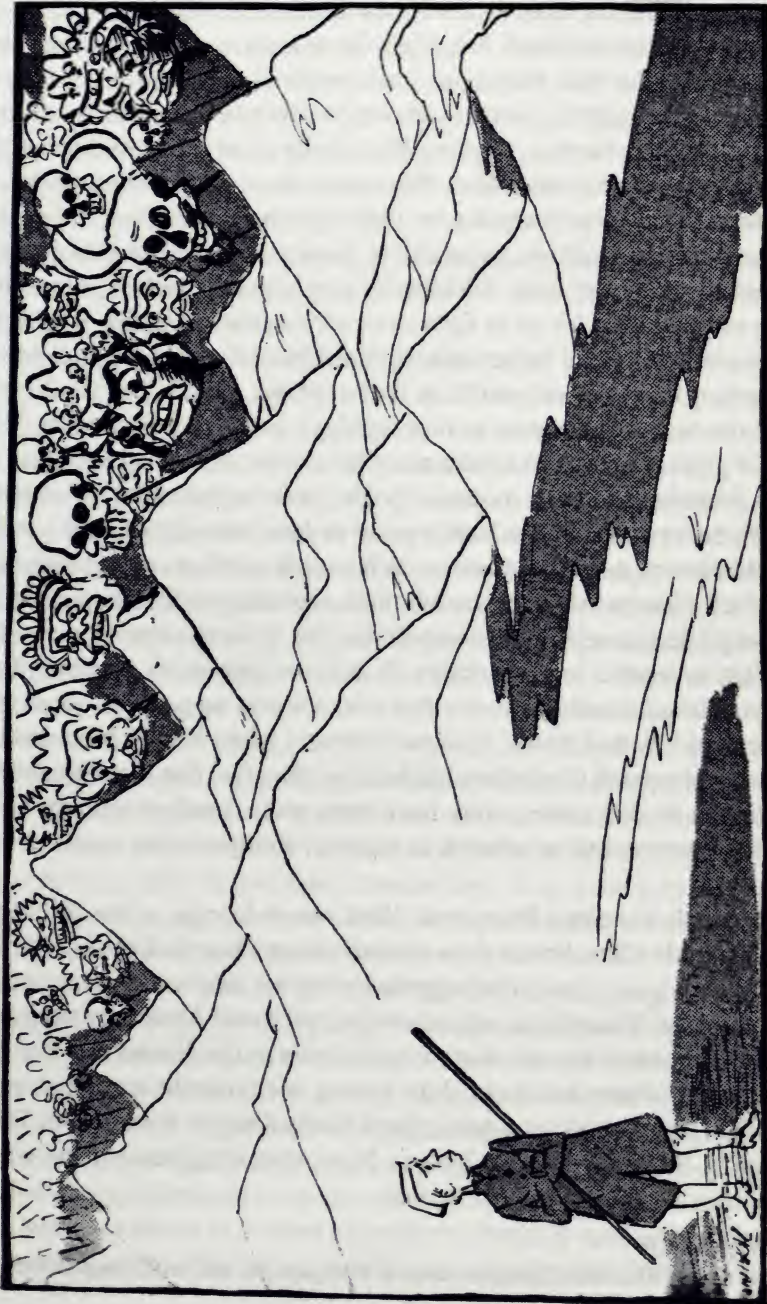
Now, the only time that firing took place was in Longju, a few days ago.<sup>47</sup> In his last letter, Mr. Chou En-lai gives a list of places where India has committed aggression.<sup>48</sup> We have committed aggression on air and we have committed aggression on land. There is no sea; otherwise, we would have been accused of committing aggression on sea also. I might inform the House that we have received a protest about one of our ships having gone into the territorial waters of China. That ship, I think, was going from Hong Kong to somewhere. That is another matter. So, sea is also not left out. Now, what is aggression and what is

46. CPI, MP from UP.

47. The first armed clash with China occurred at Longju in the east on 25 August 1959. See SWJN/SS/51/pp.

48. See *White Paper II*, pp. 27-33.

*The Himalayan Stunt*



*Chinese notes repeatedly warn India against 'aggression' committed into 'their territory.'*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1959)



not aggression depends, of course, on where you put the line of demarcation. Obviously, we may go on saying that they have committed aggression and they may go on saying that we have committed aggression because their line is different from ours and so long as you do not agree to a line, you can always go on saying this according to our own interpretation and our own methods. There can be no limit to that but Mr. Chou En-lai says in his letter that although they totally deny and repudiate the so-called MacMahon Line, nevertheless, they had not crossed the Line. That is his argument and he says that they won't cross it till this matter is settled by agreement. I won't go into the long argument but take this particular place where actually firing took place. We got one version from our people and they have no doubt got a version from their own people. The two versions do not meet and they conflict with each other but there is just one simple matter I should like to bring to your notice and to the Chinese Government's notice. Over this there has been a protest. There has been a post belonging to the Indian Government at Longju. It so happened that towards the second half of July, we got news that the officer-in-charge of the check post at Longju was seriously ill.

He was supposed to have got at 5 P.M. appendicitis and nobody was available there to deal with him. So we sent a message to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the 23rd July, that is, slightly more than a month before this small fighting took place and this was the message to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

"The officer-in-charge of the Indian check post at Longju near the international border in the Subansiri Frontier Division of NEFA is seriously ill. It is essential to send immediate medical relief to save his life. The location of the post is.....

Then the exact longitude, latitude etc. were given.

"The Government of India propose to paradrop a doctor at the post. Depending on weather, the paradropping operation may take place on the 24th afternoon or on one of subsequent days. The aircraft has been instructed to take all care not to cross into Chinese territory but the Chinese Government are being informed should there be any error of judgment. The Government of India will appreciate if immediate warning is issued to the neighbouring Chinese posts of this operation".

This was a normal message sent to a friendly Government but the mere normality of it shows that we had no doubt about our post. We gave them the longitude, latitude and we said we were sending a doctor and when they say that this is aggression on our part at Longju, I do submit that that argument does not convince. We can, of course, go into that; I need not convince the House because the House is convinced about these matters.

Now, I should like to go back to one thing to which attention has been drawn, I think, by Diwan Chaman Lal<sup>49</sup>; that is about my talks with Premier Chou En-lai. It is no pleasure to me to contradict Premier Chou. My memory may be wrong; his memory may be wrong. Whatever it is, but it happens I did not trust my memory but a record of the talks I made in an official note within 24 hours of our talk. There is a small quotation given of that. How did this talk arise? How did it take place? It was Premier Chou who started it and the reason for it was that some months previously I had sent him a message, not about the Indian frontier, but about the Burmese frontier. I had no business to interfere on the question of the Burmese frontier but the Prime Minister of Burma who had been here about that time said that he was having this trouble about the frontier and we discussed it and he asked if I could help in any way. I said, it is very difficult to interfere with two other countries of the status they had but still presuming rather our friendly relations with China and with Burma. I sent a message to Premier Chou saying that I was sorry that this small matter of the Burma-China frontier was continuing and was not being settled and I hoped that it would be settled soon. Then I used—I remember very well—a phrase. In it I said Burma is relatively a small country; on either side of Burma are these big countries China and India and Burma naturally feels a little apprehensive of both these countries—I included both India and China—and it is up to us to function in a way to remove all apprehension from the mind of Burma which is a friendly country. We are friends with it. Why do anything carelessly which might increase their fear or apprehension? I included India and I put it in the same level as China in that letter. Then I suggested in that letter—it is not for me to suggest what the frontiers should be—that perhaps he might be good enough to invite U Nu who was not at that time Prime Minister and discuss this with him. Premier Chou agreed to my suggestion and invited U Nu. Later U Nu went and they had talks and I believe he came back fairly satisfied with those talks but I regret to say that although this occurred some time ago, 3-1/2 years ago, those talks have not borne fruit in Burma yet. It is still there; there is a feeling in Burma that the assurances given to U Nu about the frontier are not fulfilled by China. So when Premier Chou was discussing this matter over the message we sent about Burma—I had invited U Nu and we had talked in that connection—he said, although we do not recognise this MacMahon Line—it was of British Imperialism and all that—nevertheless we are friendly countries, these things should not go on in this way and therefore, he said,—we have agreed to recognise the MacMahon Line in so far as the Burmese frontier is

49. Congress, MP from Punjab.



concerned—we were discussing Burma, remember—and the other few matters will also be settled soon, in that connection he went on to say, also because of our friendly relations we shall accept the MacMahon Line so far as the China-India frontier is concerned. That was the whole of the MacMahon Line. Then one or two things he added. One was that he did not think that it was a valid line. Certainly he said that; that the British had gone on extending. Nevertheless, we shall recognise it because of long usage and because we are friendly countries. Now, when I heard this I wanted to be quite sure that I had not misunderstood him. So I think three times in various ways I came back to this subject and made him repeat this. So there was no doubt about it. Because the matter was of some importance to me, when I came away a little later. I put it down in writing and there it is. Now, it is a matter of sorrow to me that this thing is now, if not denied it is anyhow practically denied—ignored and another line is adopted. Of course, it may be that things have happened in China compelling a change in policy; I do not know. That may happen in any country but however that may be, there it is. And this changeover, it seems to me, has been a progressive changeover; it is not sudden. Even in this White Paper those who read it will see that the answer about this MacMahon Line etc. is not quite so strong, so positive, as in Premier Chou's letter of yesterday. Gradually, step by step, the policy of China in regard to this matter has become more rigid. Why, I cannot say.

How, this is a matter, Sir, undoubtedly of concern to us, not only because of its consequences but because such developments produce a feeling of lack of confidence in each other's words and assurances. That is a more important thing, as some hon. Members said, than a few yards of territory. If there is that lack of faith, lack of confidence, where are we?

Take another thing. On the one hand we have these maps where large areas of India are marked as if they were China and on the other they say, well, the maps are not precise and accurate. We can change them if necessary but we do not recognise the MacMahon Line. Nobody knows exactly what they may have in mind as to where the Line is. It is an extraordinary position for a great State to take up. Even if we subscribed that, it means leaving the matter vague and the possibility of trouble is always there. So far as we are concerned, administratively we have been there. It is true that there is not much of administration in the high Himalayas but still what there is there. We have our post; we have our officers. We function; we have functioned for years there and to be told that this is aggression or this may be aggression is an extraordinary thing. If we have two sets of opinions about this, the right thing to do for the two countries was and is for them to sit down and talk about it and argue about it and come to a settlement. Now, I have made our position clear on this border

issue by statements in Parliament and later by letters, etc. for ten years now. There is no doubt that the Chinese Government knew about it. They remained silent. They did not accept my position, except as I said that we had a talk here in India when Premier Chou came here three years ago, when he accepted the MacMahon Line. But apart from that we have been talking about it, acting upon it. Take even the Sino-Indian Treaty about Tibet, five years ago— I think— in 1954.<sup>50</sup> Now, we were dealing with Tibet and we were dealing with such matters as affected Tibet. We were dealing with the various extra-territorial rights we had in Tibet, withdrawing them, some soldiering we had, post office, telegraph office, roads, pilgrim routes, trade, commerce and everything, and what were the passes we should go through. Now, normally one would think that, if there was a problem of a bit of Tibet being in India or vice versa when we were dealing with India-Tibet questions, those matters should have come up for discussion. They did not. I saw no reason why I should push them, because I had nothing to say about them. I accepted the boundary as it was. Nothing was mentioned. And the whole context of those discussions was that we were dealing with all the remaining problems as between Tibet and India in that treaty with China. And to have it at the back of your mind that you were going to change the whole frontier between Tibet and India and later bring it up, does not seem to be quite straight or fair-play. Now, a very favourite word, we often use it too and they use it frequently, but a very favourite word with the Chinese authorities is “imperialism”. Well, there is imperialism in the world. We have known enough of it to dislike it very greatly. We have struggled against it. But it seems to me that sometimes this word is used to cover every sin and everything as if that was an explanation of every argument. Just say “imperialism”, it answers everything. British imperialism spread, they say. Undoubtedly British imperialism was here. Undoubtedly in the old days, half a century ago, it exercised pressure on Tibet. Those were the days, the House may remember, when China was not strong, but British imperialism was afraid of Czarist Russia. It was really Czarist Russia and British Empire pushing, being afraid of each other. However, they did do that and various things came. Various settlements were made from time to time and, as Diwan Chaman Lall pointed out, also the tripartite treaty of 1919 or 1914. Although China did not sign it, the real Chinese objection was to the border between Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet, and not to this border at all. We were not concerned with that. However, whatever that may be, that was about more than 45 years ago. That

50. See SWJN/SS/25/p. 468.



is, after that treaty, before that too, there was a vague kind of occupation. Now, to raise these matters now on the ground that many, many long years ago British imperialism functioned there, it does seem to me, is some strange argument. How do countries grow? The Chinese State today is a great, very big, colossal State. Was this Chinese State born as such from the head of "Brahma"? How did it grow so big and great? Surely, in past ages by the ability of its people and the conquests of its warriors, in other words, by Chinese imperialism. There is no doubt about it and I am sure they would not deny it. I am not talking of the present more enlightened days of China, but of the old days surely—and I have the greatest admiration for Chinese history and culture. Not that the world functioned in that way, but the point is that the Chinese State grew in that way, where it came to Tibet. Tibet now is a point at issue, very much so. But where do you draw the line, from which a kind of certainly comes—there is no imperialism after and only before? At times, if one discusses the history of Tibet, well, there were periods when Tibetan armies occupied the Chinese capital. There were periods when the Nepalese Armies occupied the Tibetan capital. You go far enough. We had even in India, peaceful as we are, empires going right over to a large part of Central Asia, in Asoka's time, Chandragupta's time, the Kushan period, and all that. Now, where do you draw the line in history? History is full of changes, full of ups and downs, full of all kinds of things and full of mixtures of people and countries. And if one does go back that way, there is no country in the wide world which may not be shaken to its foundations and split up and certainly the great Chinese State will not survive if that argument is applied. We do not apply that argument. So, it is strange that these simple human factors, apart from constitutional and other factors, do not seem to be appreciated by the Chinese State and they have valued India's friendship only to a very low extent, in the final analysis.

I think we were right in working for their friendship and, may I repeat and say, we shall continue to work for it. Any person who has the least responsibility for India's present and India's future cannot allow himself to be frightened and angered and behave in fright and anger. No country should do that, more especially in a crisis. People who are frightened and angry can never act wisely. We have to think of the present, of course, but we have to think of the future of these two great countries. To imagine that India can sort of push China about is silly. To imagine that China can push India about is, if I may venture to say so, equally silly. Now, therefore, this idea of settling things by this kind of compulsion and force or by threats and bullying is all wrong and we must accept things as they are. Now, if you will read the letter, the message we sent to the Chinese Government yesterday morning, that yellow paper or pink paper or whatever it is, you will find that we made a suggestion to them there. You



need not read it just now. But you will find that we have suggested to them there can be no other way—that we must accept the status quo and let us discuss these individual points. I do not know, and I do not see how we can discuss this kind of broad areas. We can discuss individual points where there might be some dispute and there might be complaint. It is one thing to accept or to adhere to the MacMahon Line but quite another to see the exact alignment here and there. A village may be here and a village may be there. It is not of great importance provided it is done in a friendly way. We are prepared to discuss, we have discussed once or twice. But we say that it is the status quo, as somebody said it is the status quo prior to any recent incursion.

Take Longju. We made a very fair offer. We said: "You say that we committed aggression. We don't agree that we did. But we are prepared to agree to neither your forces nor our forces being at Longju. Let us discuss that matter. Let your forces withdraw and let our forces remain where they are or two or three miles away. We are not prepared to take them back". That is, we want to approach this matter in as peaceful and co-operative a way as possible. Of course, it is fantastic to talk about war etc. in this way and to rush about in a panic. Nevertheless the matter is serious enough. Frankly it is serious because I just do not know how the Chinese mind may think. I just do not know, and I have been surprised at recent developments. So I do not know. I have great admiration for the Chinese mind, logical and reasonable and relatively calm. But sometimes I wonder if all those old qualities have not perhaps been partly overwhelmed. So we have to be careful. We have naturally to be vigilant, and we have to take such measures as we can to protect our integrity.

One word more, Sir. Very probably these Tibetan developments have angered and soured the mind of the Government of China, very likely. They have been in trouble there undoubtedly, and the Tibetan people have been in much greater trouble of course. And perhaps they have reacted strongly to what we have done. I mean, to the asylum we have given to the Dalai Lama and to certain other factors. We have tried to steer a middle way. We respect the Dalai Lama. Large numbers of people respect him. That does not mean we agree with him in everything. In some ways he is acting wrongly today. In so far as our advice was taken we have strongly told him that he is acting wrongly and no good can come if he goes to the United Nations on Tibet. I have told him personally, I have said so in public, and I hold to that opinion. It will do no good to him or Tibet. There it is. Some others have advised him differently. We have contradicted some statements that he has recently made which were very



DALAI LAMA WAS ADVISED NOT TO INDULGE  
IN POLITICS IN INDIA.  
WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1959)

unwise and incorrect, if I may say so.<sup>51</sup> The other day in a speech he delivered, I think somewhere in Delhi, he talked of the MacMahon Line and the status of Tibet being at the same level which was quite incorrect. So we do not agree with him. We have warned him and I must say in a large measure he has accepted our advice, that is to say, in regard to not indulging in political controversy. But sometimes he has not, and it has been a difficult question for us to decide. We do not want to come in his way. We want to give him freedom of action within limitations. But no doubt all this must have affected and is affecting the Chinese mind, and perhaps it is due to that and not to the logic or the reasonableness of the Chinese position in regard to India, in regard to our frontiers that they are taking up this rigid attitude. Well, we have to be firm, we have to hold to our position. I shall try to do that. But I shall try always to find a way for peaceful settlements because I try to look into the future, and the future is dark if it is to be covered by continuing hostility between India and China.

## 90. In the Lok Sabha: The *White Paper*<sup>52</sup>

Motion re: White Paper on Indo-Chinese Relations

The Prime Minister: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this debate has brought out a large number of points and I should like to deal with many of them. Yet I feel that it would perhaps be better to lay stress on the highlights of this debate, if I may say so, rather than lose myself in a lot of detail.

The recent letter which I received from Premier Chou-En-lai raises many points and naturally we shall have to reply to it after full consideration and not in a hurry, and that consideration is being given to it.<sup>53</sup> I do not propose to deal with that letter here in this discussion, partly because this House does not require to be convinced of many of the things that perhaps Premier Chou En-lai might require to be told, and partly also because that would mean losing myself in a great deal of detail.

51. *The Times of India* of 9 September 1959 reported that the Dalai Lama had asked for "immediate intervention of the UN and consideration by the General Assembly, on its own initiative, of the Tibetan issue."

52. Statement, 12 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 8108-8129.

53. See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.



Now, first of all, let me take up one simple but very basic point that Shri Karni Singhji has raised.<sup>54</sup> He made a rather remarkable statement that he believed in Panchsheel provided that it was with people whom you agreed with. That is really, if I may say so, a perfectly remarkable statement. "I believe in being tolerant provided you agree with me. Otherwise, I will not knock your head,"—This is his idea of toleration and tolerance. This is his idea of Panchsheel. Some hon. Members said: "We must stand on our own feet". Some other hon. Members said: "You must seek the help of others". Well, people who say this seem to be, in spite of all their gallant language and brave behaviour, weak, timid, panicky and alarmist. That is not how a nation meets the challenge—looking around, seeing "How can anybody help me; who is going to help me"? How is anybody going to help you, if you are not strong enough to face the challenge? I say, let this be clearly understood: I as Prime Minister, and my Government, stand on it—that we will stick to our policy of non-alignment. We will stick to our policy, call it what you like. It is not my policy, it is an axiomatic truth—the Panchsheel—whether we agree, or China does not agree, it is immaterial—it is an axiomatic position, I say. And I challenge anyone to show it is a wrong position. You may say: "If somebody lies, you break his head". That is a different matter. You may say "Oh, don't tell the truth because the other fellow lies". Is that your position?

Some of the observations made this afternoon here, I venture to say, were quite extraordinary, even in excitement. I can understand a measure of excitement, even warm feeling and a desire that no one should touch or sully the honour of India, the integrity of India, the self-respect of India—I can understand all that. But Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's talk about bombing hillsmen in the mountains seems to show that he has lost his balance and there is no balance left. He neither understands bombing, nor mountains, nor human beings, nor anything. It is only an exhibition of petulant excitement and anger. And if this country is going to behave in petulant excitement and anger, how would it face a crisis? Is this Parliament going to behave in this way? It is a most extraordinary thing and I am wondering what would happen if we took some of the suggestions made here. Exactly where would we land ourselves if everybody is to break the other's head? And many hon. Members said: not an inch of our territory, not an inch of our territory. All these brave gestures, if you would permit me to say so, have very little meaning. Certainly, not an inch of our territory or anything, if somebody forces or compels me, because we must never submit to compulsion or force in a matter of this kind. It is not a question of an

54. Independent, MP from Bikaner, Rajasthan.

inch, or yard or a mile; it is a question of submitting to compulsion, submitting to force and we will never submit to force, whatever happens to our country.

But what do these gestures mean? I dislike this flamboyant language of an inch of territory and all that, sitting here in Parliament, not realising what it means, I dislike this business of going about bombing everybody, because you dislike his face or what he has said or done. There are many things said or done which one dislikes. Acharya Kripalani has accused me of some things. He may be right in his accusation. But I do hope he is not right when he accused me of over-politeness. I am not normally accused of that!

Acharya Kripalani: When we are concerned.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He talked about Gandhiji. Whatever Gandhiji might have said, he did not shout, as some of us do. His action was strong undoubtedly and firm, but his voice was gentle, gentle to the opponent, gentle to the enemy, gentle to everybody, always trying to win over the other person. We do not pretend to be Gandhis, because we are hardly fit to be even distant followers of his. But I do believe that at any time, in international affairs, it is the gentle and firm voice that should be raised and not this shouting voice that we have got accustomed to, this cold war voice, this just cursing each other, closing everybody's mind—where nothing counts but the bomb of Dr. Ram Subhag Singh. Dr. Ram Subhag forgets....

Acharya Kripalani: If the Prime Minister would not mind, I never said that he should go on abusing everybody. I said: we should be firm and we should make our meaning clear.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I accept that completely. But Acharya Kripalani said something more. He said: you must shout; you must speak in a loud voice.

Acharya Kripalani: I submit I was making only a comparison.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a small matter. But I would submit that we are dealing with very serious issues, and such issues are not solved by mere exhibition of excitement. Certainly and obviously, at any time, more especially in such moments, we have to be firm. And we have to be firm, realising where one has to be firm. It is not being firm in the air or being firm about everything, good, bad or indifferent. There are important things and unimportant things. One has to be firm about important things and one sticks to that, come what may.



But if one tries to be firm about everything it means one is not firm at all. That is only talking firmly which is not acting firmly because there are certain physical and actual disabilities, which you cannot survive. Nobody can. A great country, the United States of America, a great country like the Soviet Union—they are the superpowers—know the limitations of firmness. They are very firm countries but they know the limitations of firmness and they stop at a certain limit otherwise they would have gone in for war by this time and would have destroyed the world. We talk loosely. This kind of talk, namely, let us be firm, let us do this, let us fight and let us shed every drop of blood—this kind of thing, may I say, rather takes us away from the main questions that we are discussing, which are difficult. The position is a serious one.

Now I say that Premier Chou En-lai's last letter in some parts is worded in relatively soft language and in some parts he talks about the status quo being kept, talks, negotiations etc.. But basically that letter raises some issues which are very serious and which have been raised in that form officially almost for the first time.

As I was sitting here, I was reading certain reports of discussions in Peking in some Congress that is being held there where Premier Chou En-lai spoke more or less on the lines of this letter and where other people spoke. Of course, it does not require any particular brilliance to know that everyone spoke on those same lines, supporting Premier Chou En-lai, namely:—

“express their great surprise to find Mr. Nehru defending British imperialism. So-and-so asked Mr. Nehru: On whose behalf was he speaking in defending British imperialism? Now Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government treat the aggressive plot of British imperialism against China in the last century as an accomplished fact. Does this accord with the five principles advocated by Mr. Nehru....”

And so on and so forth. There is plenty of it. Just as many hon. Members have said something about the MacMahon Line strongly saying: stick to it; do not budge an inch etc.—I forget who said it, but I seem to have read it somewhere—they were equally strong against the MacMahon Line there. So, here we are.

Obviously a question like this cannot be solved by resolutions in Delhi and in Peking or by strong language hurled at each other. Other ways have to be found—either peaceful or warlike. Every sensible person here and elsewhere wants to avoid war in such matters or in any matter. It is quite clear. The most powerful nations in the world are trying their utmost today to find a way outside war, and for us to think and talk of war seems rather ridiculous in this context of things.

It is perfectly different for us to say and for the weakest and the smallest

nation to say and for an individual to say: I will not submit to evil, come what may. It is quite a different thing. I will not submit to it. I will not submit to coercion. I will not submit to dishonour. That is quite a different thing. Even a single individual can say that, according to Gandhiji's teachings or any teaching. Any country can say that. That is different from a country in the pride of its might saying, "Oh" we shall do this or that with our armies and bombs etc." It is a very different thing. The two approaches are completely different.

Now, what is happening in China today? And I say so, I do not wish to use strong words, but it is the pride and arrogance of might that is showing in their language, in their behaviour to us and in so many things that they have done. It is that.

And it is not a question of this mile on this side of the MacMahon Line or that mile on that side. They are small matters, I say again. But it is not a small matter, the other thing, that they showed in their maps a large tract of Indian territory and called it Chinese territory. That is not a small matter. Because—you may say that you will not give an inch of the MacMahon Line; I will give it if I find that it is wrongly there; what is the good of saying these things—the MacMahon Line is a broad line between Bhutan and the Burma border and it goes on to Burma. In some places it is quite definite; in some places it is not definite, it is not marked in some places. And you have to go by other indications. The broad approach of the man who drew that line was that it should be on the water-sheds. It was a good approach. But we have deliberately left the water-sheds in one or two places. Therefore, when I say I stick to the MacMahon Line, what I mean is that I stick to that broad approach. But if by evidence or facts, whatever it is, a slight deviation in the alignment is necessary, it is not a major matter. And that has to be decided by facts and not by anybody's coercion.

And when I talked about so-called mediation and conciliation—and I even used the word arbitration—what did I mean? I meant that in these minor alignments, etc., or in these minor questions that have arisen, wherever they may be, whatever it is—I forget the names of these places; Longju and Hoti and other places, these are the alignments; Hoti is not of course on the MacMahon line, it is on the U.P. side—these alignments can always be talked about in a peaceful way, in a friendly way, and slightly altered here and there if there is enough evidence.

But that is not what we are considering today. We have always been ready for that. We are considering something much bigger, and that is a claim, the claim laid down in the Chinese maps which for the first time, mind you, now in this last letter of Premier Chou En-lai and the speeches delivered now in their Congress is taking shape more definitely. At first, whenever the maps were referred to, it was said, "Oh, these are old maps, we will revise them." It was a



totally inadequate answer. Well, it was some kind of an answer, postponement of an answer if you like. But now the real thing is that this is held out as something more definite. They hold by it—not the exact line, we do not know exactly where their line is, and it is impossible to discover large tracts of Indian territory. That kind of treatment or behaviour does seem to me, if I may use the word, very improper for one nation to treat another, even much more so when the nations have been friendly. And that is the point that has arisen.

The question is, again I repeat, for the moment does not worry about these petty spots. A petty spot is important if coercively and aggressively even a yard of territory is taken from us. Because, it is not a yard of territory that counts but the coercion. But all those petty spots are capable of some kind of solution. Because, it makes no difference to China or India whether a few yards of territory in the mountain are on this side or on that side. But it makes a great deal of difference if that is done in an insulting, aggressive, offensive, violent manner, by us or by them. All that counts.

Now, I have been accused, with some justification, that I have kept matters from Parliament, these important matters. (An Hon. Member: Why some?) I beg of you, you have read this White Paper, point out to me what exactly I have kept. I shall tell you what I have kept. It is only one thing that I have kept, that is, last November, December, when we were dealing with the Aksai Chin area and the road there. That had come to our knowledge apart from our letters about Bara Hoti, about this and that. We cannot come here for every little thing. But, that certainly is an important matter: the road through the Aksai Chin area. We felt its importance. We did not come here at that time.

Hon. Members said—I forget who said—do not our Air Force take pictures and all that. I do not think there is a full realisation of what this area is and where it is. The mere act of taking pictures would have endangered that plane which took it, endangered it not only from the physical features point of view, but endangered it from the point of view of action, by the other party shooting it down, whatever the risks.

I won't go into details. But, I should like this House to appreciate what these places are. This place, Aksai Chin area, is in our maps undoubtedly. But, I distinguish it completely from other areas. It is a matter for argument as to what part of it belongs to us and what part of it belongs to somebody else. It is not at all a dead, clear matter. However, I have to be frank to the House. It is not clear. I cannot go about doing things in a matter which has been challenged, not today, but for a hundred years. It has been challenged as to the ownership of this strip of territory. That has nothing to do with the MacMahon Line. It has nothing to do with anything else. That particular area stands by itself. It has been in challenge all the time. Our going about taking pictures of it from the air

or, as somebody said, bombing it, is not a feasible proposition, we knew it is not an inaccessible place. Of course, people can go there.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: If it does not belong to India, then, there is no question of bombing.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not saying that. That is just it. You make statements without knowing facts. I cannot say what part of it may not belong to us, and what parts may. The point is, there has never been any delimitation there in that area and it has been a challenged area—bits of it: I cannot say which bit is and which not. That is a question which will have to be decided.

Shri C.K. Bhattacharya:<sup>55</sup> The same statement of our Prime Minister on a previous occasion has been used by Mr. Chou En-lai in his letter to prove that this area belongs to them.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe.

Shri C.K. Bhattacharya: A similar statement is used in his present letter in justification of his claim.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is just what the hon. Members feel. Either I must put facts before them or delude them or leave them to make rash statements themselves: what am I to do about it? Many statements that I heard today were far removed from facts. Therefore, I have to say, I distinguish between these frontiers. There is the MacMahon Line. By and large, apart from minor variations, that is a fixed line. In some parts, in the Subansiri area or somewhere there, it was not considered a good line and it was varied afterwards by us, by the Government of India. There are many factors to be seen. But, broadly, it follows the watershed. That is the test. We hold by that, we stick to it subject to minor variations, for special reasons. A mile here or a mile there does not matter provided it is peacefully arranged. It is in regard to that that I said, let us have mediation, conciliation. There can be no mediation, conciliation or arbitration about these demands of the Chinese about large chunks of territory. It is quite fantastic and absurd basing their demand on what happened in past centuries. As I said in the other House the other day, if this argument is applied, I wonder how much of the great Chinese State would survive these arguments. How did the Chinese State, this huge State, mighty State, build itself up—by the doctrine

55. Congress, MP from West Dinajpur, West Bengal.



of Panchsheel or what? In the past it built itself up by conquest obviously, all parts of it. Whether it was a few years ago, a hundred, 200 or 500 years ago, it was built up by conquest, as all great States have been built up by conquest, violent conquest; and if you apply that theory, the Chinese State was not born complete in itself when civilisation began. So, that argument of British imperialism can well be countered with past, if not present, Chinese imperialism which obviously functioned. One might say, as I said the other day, in the old days Asoka's empire, the Kushan Empire and Chandra Gupta's empire spread over half of Central Asia and Afghanistan and all over; therefore, we should lay claim to that. It is an extraordinary argument, this kind of thing. The whole reason of that argument simply takes you back to past ages of history upsetting everything. It really is the argument of a strong and aggressive Power. Nobody else would use it. I have a feeling that as there is a certain paranoia in individuals, sometimes there is a paranoia in nations, and one sees that, so that in this matter let us come to basic facts.

The basic facts are these. Number one, that this Chinese claim which was vaguely set down in maps etc., is becoming more definitely stated now. That is a claim which it is quite impossible for India or almost any Indian ever to admit whatever the consequences. That is quite clear. There is no question of mediation, conciliation or arbitration about that, because that is absurd. As somebody said, Shri Khadilkar<sup>56</sup> I think, it involves a fundamental change in the whole geography of it, the Himalayas being handed over as a gift to them. This is an extraordinary claim. This is a thing, whether India exists or does not exist, cannot be agreed to. There the matter ends.

Now, having said that, so far as lines of delimitation etc. are concerned, these are matters always for argument provided the approach is a peaceful one. Take Longju. We have said so, you have seen the letter. We think that Longju is on our side of the line, just on our side within about half a mile of it. They say it is not. We think we have a good case, but I leave that out. We have said we are prepared not to go out to Longju. You get out too, and then the matter can be considered by maps, charts, whatever it is, because it is a minor rectification and it does not make such difference provided it is peacefully done. Or, any other minor point like that we are prepared to consider in this day, but not this light demand of handing over the Himalayas to them. That we are not prepared to consider.

Again, there is this MacMahon Line that I referred to. There is the border of U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. There, when we had this treaty about

56. Raghunath Keshav Kadilkar, Mazdoor Kisan Party, MP from Ahmednagar, Gujarat.

Tibet in 1954, a number of passes were mentioned, that is, passes meant for pilgrims and others to go over, and traders. Those passes themselves in a sense laid down the frontier, and the claim now made here and there, as in the letter, to the Shipki La pass etc., is undoubtedly a breach of that agreement of 1954 in so far as the passes are concerned.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh vaguely said: nobody knows what places, what areas of India the Chinese may have occupied. I beg to inform him that everybody knows it or ought to know it. If he does not know, he should try to find out from those who know, before making such statements.

Now, apart from that area in Ladakh, about which I mentioned to you, apart from that area, about the road, for the moment we know exactly where they are there. There is no part of our border at the present moment occupied by the Chinese except that Longju area, that little bit about which....

Shri Hem Barua: May I submit one thing? About Longju, it is said that that MacMahon Line was delimited up to a length of 850 miles by Sir MacMahon. Longju is on this side of the MacMahon line. So how can they claim Longju now?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Longju is 800 miles....

Shri Hem Barua: The MacMahon line had delimited the border up to 850 miles. The delimitation was done by Sir MacMahon himself....

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Who says that?

Shri Hem Barua: And Longju is, on this side of the border.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: At least, I do not know. I am merely stating the fact. I am stating the fact in so far as I know, that there are no Chinese troops on this side of the MacMahon Line anywhere, except that in two or three or maybe, four miles of Longju, there is a small detachment there. An impression seems to have grown that there are masses and masses of Chinese armies perched on the frontier, or are pouring into the frontier. That is not a correct impression; it is not an easy thing to do, and if it is done, it will be met, whether it is big or small or whatever it may be.

Let us realise this; the real danger at the present moment is not of Armies pouring in; the real danger is the words that are being said in Peking. That is the thing which is extraordinary, and these words which I have quoted, we cannot possibly accept, admit or agree to. That is the basic position. Now, all



minor things one talks about, one agrees to, one has conciliation, one has this or that as with any country. And our broad approach will always be a friendly approach, even to the utmost or last end, because any other approach is, according to our thinking a wrong approach.

We may lose our tempers. Losing one's temper is not a good thing, but one loses it because one cannot control one-self, but a nation at least should not lose its temper, when it is faced with these serious problems, and must be firm, at the same time, restrained and controlled.

May I also add, to complete the whole picture that it is not merely a question of this, but a question of the treatment given to our Missions in Tibet, our trade agencies? It has been a consistently discourteous treatment by the local authorities. We write, we complain, answers come, long explanations come, but it does seem that it is deliberately done, to make it more and more inconvenient and difficult for them to work there.

May I say this here? I would just like to draw Acharya Kripalani's attention to one note in the White Paper—he might note down just the page, I would not read it now—which does indicate our approach to these creations, that is to say, a mixture of politeness and firmness. This is at page 77 of the White Paper, the statement of our Foreign Secretary in reply to the Chinese statement.

May I here say that I should like to express my regret to the Members of the Socialist Party here for a reference to them in one of these statements, and I accept entire responsibility for it. I am sorry. But I was much disturbed by that particular incident which happened in Bombay, because, whatever may happen, the Head of a state is supposed to be above criticism; and it rouses tremendous passions, if you hit the Head of a State. And what was done there in regard to Chairman Mao had made a tremendous difference suddenly to change the atmosphere of China against us.<sup>57</sup> It was utilised by all our enemies; and I was moved by that, disturbed by that.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I submit one thing? Was it not brought to the notice of the Prime Minister that just after the occurrence of the incident, it was disapproved by the Socialist Party then and there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be so; but I am trying to express my regret for this reference here; anyhow, it should not have been put in this way.

I should like this House to consider this matter, apart from its views about the cold war, apart from its views on communism. Indirectly, communism comes

57. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 502 and 596-598.

in. In the sense that China is a Communist State, in that sense, it does affect. I think it will make it more difficult for you to understand the situation, if your minds are coloured by this business of the cold, the arguments that go on between communism and anti-communism. What we have to face today is a great and powerful nation which is aggressive. It might be aggressive minus communism or plus communism. Either way it might be there. That is a fact that you have to face.

Therefore, do not confuse the issue. So far as the cold war is concerned, as the House knows, or ought to know, all wise men or most wise men in the world are trying to put an end to it, and it would be a tragedy. If we, who stood up against the cold war, should surrender to its voice and technique, when the countries which started it were giving it up. Therefore, let us not have it. Cold war is an admission of defeat—mental and intellectual defeat. It is not, if I may say so with all respect to the participants of the cold war, a mature way of considering a question. Certainly, I am not speaking in terms of non-violence, although cold war is the negation of non-violence. I say if you are violent, be violent. But nobody has yet, I hope, approved of blackguardly language. That is cold war.

One hon. Member, I think Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, referred to Bhutan and Sikkim. I am glad he did so.....

Shri Goray: He is being bombed all right.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: ....because he reminded me of something, about which I wanted to make some mention. In Premier Chou En-lai's last letter, he says: "In your Excellency's letter, you also referred to the boundary between China and Sikkim. Like the boundary between China and Bhutan, this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion."

I beg to differ from Premier Chou En-lai. It does very much fall within the scope of our present or future discussion. If he thinks that he can deal with it as something apart from India, we are not agreeable to that. We have publicly, rightly, undertaken certain responsibilities for the defence of Sikkim and Bhutan, if they are attacked. Therefore, it is very necessary for us to understand the position there, because if something happens on their borders, then it is the same thing as an interference with the border of India.

One hon. Member, I think Shrimati Renuka Ray,<sup>58</sup> asked: has there been violation of Bhutan's territory? So far as I know, there has been no violation.

58. Congress, MP from Malda, West Bengal.



Then there was one question which was put to me—I am sorry to repeat Dr. Ram Subhag Singh's name. It was a very interesting question. In Premier Chou's letter, he had referred to a telegram which we received from Tibet—from Lhasa in 1947. It is true. The point which Premier Chou made was that even then, in 1947, that is, soon after we became independent. Tibet claimed territory from us. That was his argument. It is true that we received a telegram from the Tibetan Bureau in Lhasa, which was forwarded to us by our Mission in Lhasa, claiming the return of Tibetan territory on the boundary of India and Tibet.<sup>59</sup> A reply was sent by us—it did not say exactly what reply was sent by us in 1947—demanding the assurance that it was the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements are reached on matters that either party may wish to take up.

Now, what the telegram means, I do not know. But this House should remember that when we discuss these small border disputes, whether it is Migyitun or this or that, all these are standing disputes with the old Tibetan Government, even in British times, certain small areas which were points of dispute between the then Government of India and the Tibetan Government. There were some new disputes too. It may be that this telegram refers to those areas in disputes, relatively small areas.

Here is another instance of what we call the new approach of the Chinese Government to us, or, perhaps, an intensification of that approach. We received a complaint and a protest from them a few days ago about the violation of their territorial waters. I was surprised because the report was that it was one small ship—a frigate I think—which was taking supplies to a ship called Magar—crocodile—(its name is Magar). This frigate was taking supplies; and passing nearby Hong Kong, it did undoubtedly pass across the territorial waters of China, say within 12 miles or so—whatever it was. They protested and said it was challenged and it did not listen to the challenge. The Magar has not come back yet. But we have received a report and it said that there was no challenge when they came across and they did not know and they went on. That is curious enough—petty incident of the Magar going there and being challenged.

But, in this connection another incident is quoted:

“Last year your cruiser ‘Mysore’ also did the same thing, passed through our territorial waters”.

Now, the cruiser “Mysore” had gone last year on a visit of goodwill to China among other countries. That is, it went to Hong Kong, China, Shanghai

59. Telegram was forwarded on 16 October 1947 and the details are explained in Nehru's letter to Chou En-lai of 26 September 1959. See *White Paper II*, p. 39.



and it went to Japan and, maybe, it went to some other places also. I do not know. It certainly went to Shanghai. It is very surprising that it should be quoted and quoted a year after. Certainly last year it came to within six or twelve miles. The affair is rather extraordinary.

There are a multitude of questions that arise in this connection and we shall have to deal with them with all care, patience, firmness and forbearance. And I am sure that this House will show that firmness coupled with forbearance.

If I have erred in the past in some delay in placing the papers before the House, I shall not err again. It is too serious a matter. At that time one wanted the situation not to be worsened by publicity when we were dealing with them, corresponding with them and their answers come after months. This very answer from Premier Chou has come six months after my letter of March. One waits and times goes on. But, anyhow, the situation is such that we have to keep the country, and especially the Parliament in full touch with the developments. I do not expect, and I do not want the House to imagine that something very serious is going to happen on our frontiers. I do not at all expect that to happen. It is not such an easy matter for it to happen either. But the basic difficulty is this apparent change in the attitude of the Chinese Government when it has come out quite clearly with a demand which it is absolutely and wholly impossible for us to look at. But, If you will put that aside, the major demand aside,—they themselves say, the House will notice, that they are not, in a sense, pressing for that now and that they are prepared for the status quo to continue but there is the demand, just as the maps were a constant irritant and a reminder to us that something may happen and it is now much more obvious—it is only in that sense the situation has worsened and not in the sense that something is going to happen in the border or the frontier suddenly.

I would beg of you not to put this matter in the category of communist or non-communist. The House must have seen the statement issued more or less on behalf of the Soviet Government and this House knows the very close relations that the Soviet Government has naturally with the Chinese Government. The issue of that statement itself shows that the Soviet Government is taking a calm and more or less objective or dispassionate view of the situation considering everything. We welcome that. It is not for us to divert this major issue between these two great countries, China and India into wrong channels; it will be completely wrong for us to do that and we must maintain our dignity and at the same time deal with the situation as firmly as we can. It is a difficult situation, difficult in the sense, physically difficult, apart from other difficulties. Remember, if the physical difficulties are on our side as they are—hundreds of miles of mountains and forests with no roads—the same difficulties are on the side of any person who rashly tries to come in. So you can balance the difficulties



either way.

Anyhow, our Army and our Defence forces are fully seized of this matter and they are not people who get excited quickly. They are brave people, experienced people and because they have to deal with a difficult job, they deal with it in a calm and quiet way but efficiently. I am sure they will do that.

There are a number of amendments. Naturally, I am not prepared to accept any amendment which is a condemnation of our policy.

Acharya Kripalani: Before you deal with the amendments, may I ask a question? Shri Dange has said that the Dalai Lama is being subsidised by your Government. Is it a fact?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not referred to the question of Tibet or the Dalai Lama, partly because although it slightly touches these issues and it has affected them, it is a separate issue. So far as the Dalai Lama is concerned, I do not know what is meant by "subsidy". We have spent some money over his remaining there but we have given him no special subsidy. But some money has been spent naturally on his stay at Mussoorie and we are spending money on the other refugees.

Again, as the House knows we have expressed our views in regard to some statements of the Dalai Lama. We have disagreed with them.

Acharya Kripalani: Can this help be called a subsidy to the Dalai Lama?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am merely telling you the fact. He is given no subsidy of any kind but some money has been spent by us on arrangements for his stay in Mussoorie. That is the position.

It has been a difficult problem for us—the problem that was referred to by Shri Dange<sup>60</sup> and Acharya Kripalani. There was a little controversy as to the freedom to be given to a person who has sought asylum here, and that is quite apart from the respect we have for him. Of course, it is a constitutional question. We have great respect, and the people of India have great respect for the Dalai Lama. At the same time, we did tell him many times that he should not make India the seat of activities against a country which is a friendly country. I wish to say this: by and large, for a considerable time, he has observed a good deal of restraint considering the stresses and strains he suffered from. But sometimes, he has gone beyond that and we had to contradict some of his statements. We

60. CPI, MP from Bombay Central, Bombay.

did not wish to enter into trouble about it, but because some of his statements did appear to us to go much too far that we had to contradict them.

I cannot accept these various amendments naturally because they are in effect a condemnation of our policy. But there is one amendment tabled by Shri Naldurgkar<sup>61</sup> which is acceptable to me if the House so wishes.

Shri Hem Barua: The people inhabiting N.E.F.A., about 30,000 sq. miles of whose territory are claimed by China as shown in their map, still preserve, due to the British policy of isolation, a sort of separatist psychology; and during all these years of freedom, we could not create in them a comprehensive Indian mind and as such those people are easily susceptible to Chinese propaganda. May I know from the Prime Minister what steps do the Government propose to take to see that this thing does not happen in N.E.F.A.?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, there is education, publicity, and all that, there. Most of the N.E.F.A. region had no administration even in the old times. Gradually, administration has spread there. Now, administration, education and all that are spreading there.

Shri P.K. Deo:<sup>62</sup> I am grateful to the Prime Minister for the firmness with which he has spoken and dealt with the Chinese situation. He has rightly diagnosed this Chinese malady to be the arrogance of might. Imperialism is no longer the monopoly of the west. It can also spread to the east, though it has got a different name, they call it liberation. We have seen what liberation means to Tibet. Whatever be the imperialism, this imperialism should be nipped in the bud. Unless it is nipped in the bud, it will grow because it has got a cancerous and malignant growth.

From the analysis of history we have seen that all policies of appeasement have failed to stop the growth of imperialism. Sir Neville Chamberlain<sup>63</sup> has failed in his policy of appeasement to stop Hitler from his aggressive imperialist designs at Munich in 1939 or so. In his particular case also, I think our Prime Minister will deal with the Chinese situation firmly and the whole country will stand behind him.

61. V.S. Naldurgkar, Congress, MP from Osmanabad, Bombay.

62. Ganatantra Parishad, MP from Kalahandi, Orissa.

63. Arthur Neville Chamberlain, a British Conservative politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from May 1937 to May 1940.



Lastly, I would like to express my thanks to my friend and comrade, Shri Dange, for the guarantee he has given on behalf of China, that there will be no aggression. I would like to know what he is to China. Is he the accredited agent to China and whether it is the Chinese or the Indian speaking. Anyway, I request him to be more realistic and more patriotic in his approach to the situation.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Some hon. Member mentioned or enquired if the Chinese had built an airfield in Indian territory. There is no such thing. There is only one airfield in the eastern Ladakh, Chushul, built 4 or 5 years ago.<sup>64</sup> I went there and it was an exciting trip to the borders of Tibet. But there is no Chinese airfield there.

## 91. To MEA: India-China Border Controversy<sup>65</sup>

There has been a good deal of talk in Parliament and elsewhere about our controversies with China. In fact, so much has been said that there might well be some confusion in people's minds. That confusion was apparent in the course of the debate yesterday in the Lok Sabha, and many members were greatly excited about the situation.<sup>66</sup> I have no doubt that they represented the general excitement in the public. This morning a number of little children came to see me from the schools, and they appeared to be excited over this affair. I am, therefore, putting down some points which might help us to clear our own minds and guide us in the near future. In a changing situation one cannot lay down any fixed instructions. But the broad lines of our approach should be more or less clear.

(2) It should be clearly understood by our civil and military officers and others that we must avoid actual conflict unless it is practically forced down upon us. That is to say, we must avoid armed conflict not only in a big way, but even in a small way. On no account should our forces fire unless they are actually fired at.

(3) Our armed forces and others should keep clearly within our side of our frontier, that is, the MacMahon Line or elsewhere. If they happen to be on the other side in any particular place, they should withdraw to our side. They should

64. The highest airfield in the world, built in 1952.

65. Note to SG, FS, and CS, 13 September 1959.

66. See the previous item in this volume.

not withdraw beyond that. In the event of any Chinese armed detachment coming over to our side, they should be told to go back. Only if they fire should our people fire at them.

(4) Our frontier with Tibet-China can be divided up broadly into three parts:—

- (i) the MacMahon Line from Burma to Bhutan,
- (ii) the frontier between Tibet and Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab, and
- (iii) the Ladakh frontier.

These three involve a slightly different approach. So far as the MacMahon Line frontier is concerned, I have referred to it above.

(5) In regard to (ii), that is, UP, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab, our check-posts should be vigilant and, where necessary, might be reinforced. About Hoti area, we have some understandings which are not always kept. We should adhere to these understandings. This particular frontier is largely conditioned by the reference to various clauses in the 1954 Agreement. We should adhere to that frontier.

(6) So far as the Ladakh frontier is concerned, this may be divided up into two parts: (a) Chushul and round about area and (b) the Aksai Chin area. In the Chushul area we should have strong detachments at our check-posts and more especially guard the Chushul airfield. We should avoid actual conflict as far as possible. The Chinese have put up some kind of a check-post within our boundary and not far from Chushul. We should not take any aggressive armed action against this check-post, but we should prevent any advance towards the Chushul airfield or indeed any other part nearby.

(7) The Aksai Chin area has to be left more or less as it is. We have no check-post there and practically little means of access. Any questions relating to it can only be considered, when the time arises, in the context of the larger question of the entire border. For the present, we have to put up with the Chinese occupation of this North-East sector and their road across it.

(8) Broadly speaking, we should be prepared for talks in regard to any minor deviation from the border as accepted by us throughout the three areas mentioned above. That is, we can discuss these matters if the time arises. But any question relating to major changes such as are envisaged in the Chinese maps cannot be considered by us in this way.

(9) Thus, on the whole, the status quo that has existed for some time should be maintained throughout the frontier. It has been disturbed at Longju and Tamadem and perhaps one or two other minor places. We have already made a proposal about Longju that both sides should retire from this place and discuss the exact border there, through proper representatives. That proposal stands.



At Tamadem we have issued instructions already for withdrawal of our detachment because, in our opinion, this area is on the other side of the MacMahon Line frontier. This instruction should hold.

(10) Our general instructions to our people on the border should be that they should avoid any provocative action, but should remain firmly on our side of the line and not allow themselves to be pushed away easily. I think it is unlikely that the Chinese forces will take up any aggressive line on this frontier, that is, try to enter into our territory any further. If they should do so, they will have to be stopped and the matter reported to us immediately for instructions.

(11) A carefully drafted reply to Premier Chou En-lai's last letter should be prepared. On my return from Tehran, we shall consider this and then send it.

(12) As for the other points in controversy, chiefly about the behavior of the Chinese authorities towards our missions inside Tibet, wherever any answers are necessary, they can be sent without waiting for my return.

(13) Papers relating to our relations with China, subsequent to those published in the White Paper, should be got ready. We should aim at publishing this collection early in October.

(14) When General Thimayya comes back from Shillong, FS might have a talk with him and find out what the position is and what arrangements have been made. I had a talk with him two days ago on the lines of this note. Nevertheless, a copy of this note might be given to him.

(15) So far as possible, general indications of our attitude in these matters might be informally and privately given by Foreign Secretary to some of our important newspapers. While the situation is undoubtedly serious in the long run, there is no need to exaggerate it or to speak or write in an alarmist manner. Criticisms of general policy are always permissible, but attacks on China should be avoided.

(16) Our Ambassador in Moscow as well as our Heads of Missions in the East European countries might be kept informed of our general policy and developments. Also some of our other important Missions abroad. They are likely to be constantly approached by the Governments to which they are accredited as well as by the press, and they should, therefore, know what to say in reply.

## 92. To D.D. Kosambi: Border Demarcation<sup>67</sup>

September 23, 1959

Dear Professor Kosambi,

I have your letter of the 19th September. I shall bear in mind what you say. As a matter of fact, however, there is no difficulty about the passes being guarded. The example of Goa does not apply here. These Himalayan passes are high and inaccessible and are in fact easily controlled on either side. There are no Tibetans coming over now. Indeed, they cannot come over because the Chinese authorities effectively stop them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 93. To S. Dutt: India-China Boundary<sup>68</sup>

I have rather hurriedly read through your draft letter addressed to Premier Chou En-lai together with the notes attached to it. I should like to congratulate you on these drafts. They are excellently done.

2. I should like to read these papers a little more carefully and perhaps discuss some matters with you. There are one or two points, however, to which I should like to draw your attention:

- (1) When we mention the MacMahon Line to begin with, we might say something to the effect that we do not like referring to your frontier as the MacMahon Line, but, for convenience, we use this phrase even though we do not approve of it. We would just like to call it the existing frontier.
- (2) It might be worthwhile to state that all our frontier posts have been manned by Police or Territorials, and not by the Army. (I think Territorials would be a correct description of Assam Rifles). Indeed, our Army Command was not even in charge of these border posts as they were treated as local police matters. This itself indicates how peaceful our intentions have been all along. Even now, our regular Army soldiers have not been stationed anywhere in these posts. But, very recently, we have given the overall charge to our Army Command.

67. Letter.

68. Note, 24 September 1959.



- (3) I wonder if it would be worthwhile to say something about the reports of speeches by Chinese officers or authorities in Tibet, to which I think we have already drawn the attention of the Chinese authorities. These reports have been to the effect that the next step to be taken by the Chinese is going to be to take Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and the N.E.F.A. I do not think we have had any kind of an answer from the Chinese authorities to this matter.
- (4) I should like to see the telegram that was sent to us by the Tibetan Bureau in Lhasa in 1947 and our answer to it. I am rather surprised to see the quotation from; this telegram, with its reference to the river Ganges etc.
- (5) At page 15, para. 15, of your draft letter, you lay some stress on the border tribes inhabiting the area south of the MacMahon Line as being of the same ethnic stock as the other hill tribes of Assam and having no kinship with the Tibetans. This is a valid point. But if we lay stress on ethnic stocks, could not the Chinese say that the Tibetans living in that part of India belong to the ethnic stock of Tibet and, therefore, that are should be included in Tibet?
- (6) At page 18, para. 18, you point out that while Premier Chou En-lai says that the Sino-Indian boundary is about two thousand kilometers in length, in fact it is well over two thousand five hundred miles in length. I think it might be advisable to give the equivalent in kilometers also where you say two thousand miles. I imagine that will be about four thousand kilometers.
- (7) At page 20, end of para. 18, you say that "our forces have also been there in support of the civil administration". It might be better to indicate here also that our forces were police or territorials.
- (8) At page 25, near the bottom, you say that these large areas have been "under the administrative jurisdiction of India for years". "For years" may mean a few years or many years. If we cannot indicate the period, we might at least say for many years.
- (9) Note on Aksai Chin: Here you say "when we protested ... about the serious and continuing occupation of our territory". Did we protest the next year or the same year? Does "next year" refer to after 1957 or 1958?
3. These are just some hurried points for your consideration. It should be easy now to finalise this letter. But I rather doubt if this will be possible tomorrow before I leave. I should discuss this matter with you tomorrow.
4. I am engaged from 10 o'clock to lunch time tomorrow. I shall come to the office soon after 9 and perhaps we could have a talk then. I shall come

again for some time in the afternoon, but I seem to have a number of engagements.

#### 94. To Chou En-lai<sup>69</sup>

September 26, 1959

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I have received your letter of September 8, 1959.<sup>70</sup> I must say that I was greatly surprised and distressed to read it. You and I discussed the India-China border, and particularly the eastern sector, in 1954 in Peking and in 1956-57 in India. As you know, the boundary in the eastern sector is loosely referred to as the MacMahon Line. I do not like this description, but for convenience I propose to refer to it as such. When I discussed this with you, I thought that we were confronted with the problem of reaching an agreement on where exactly the so-called MacMahon Line in the eastern sector of the boundary lay. Even when I received your letter of January 23, 1959, I had no idea that the People's Republic of China would lay claim to about 40,000 square miles of what in our view has been indisputably Indian territory for decades and in some sectors for over a century. In your latest letter you have sought to make out a claim to large tracts of Indian territory and have even suggested that the independent Government of India are seeking to reap a benefit from the British aggression against China. Our Parliament and our people deeply resent this allegation. The struggle of the Indian people against any form of imperialism both at home and abroad is known and recognised all over the world and we had thought that China also appreciated and recognised our struggle. It is true that the British occupied and ruled the Indian sub-continent against the wishes of the Indian people. The boundaries of India were, however, settled for centuries by history, geography, custom and tradition. Nowhere indeed has India's dislike of imperialist policies been more clearly shown than in her attitude towards Tibet. The Government of India voluntarily renounced all the extra-territorial rights enjoyed by Britain in Tibet before 1947 and recognised by Treaty—that Tibet is a region of China. In the course of the long talks that we had during your last visit to India, you had told me that Tibet had been and was a part of China but that it was an autonomous region.

2. You have suggested in your letter that the Government of India have applied all sorts of pressure on the Chinese Government, including the use of

69. *White Paper II*, pp. 34-46.

70. See Appendix 5, pp. 309-316.



force, to make the Chinese Government accept the Indian demand. This is the reverse of what the Government of India did. We did not release to the public the information which we had about the various border intrusions into our territory by Chinese personnel since 1954, the construction of a road across Indian territory in Ladakh, and the arrest of our personnel in the Aksai Chin area in 1958 and their detention. We did not give publicity to this in the hope that peaceful solutions of the disputes could be found by agreement by the two countries without public excitement on both sides. In fact our failure to do so has now resulted in sharp but legitimate criticism of the Government both in Parliament and in the press in our country. Far from using force, we sought a peaceful settlement of the disputes. You must be aware of the prolonged negotiations between the Indian and Chinese representatives over Bara Hoti in 1958 and of the notes exchanged between our two Governments on the other disputes. I need hardly tell you that there is great resentment in India at the action of your troops in overpowering our outpost in Longju on our side of the MacMahon Line, and although you have up till now not withdrawn your troops, we have not sought to reoccupy the post.

3. You have referred to the maintenance of the long existing status quo on the border. The Government of India have always been in favour of it. It is the Chinese Government who have violated it repeatedly in recent years. I can refer, for example, to the construction of a 100-mile road across what has traditionally been Indian territory in the Aksai China area, the entry of Chinese survey parties in the Lohit Frontier Division in 1957, the establishment of a camp at Spanggur in 1959, the despatch of armed personnel to Bara Hoti in 1958 and stationing them there in winter against customary practice and last, but not least, the use of force in Longju.

4. It is true that the Sino-Indian boundary has not been formally delimited along its entire length. Indeed the terrain of the Sino-Indian border in many places makes such physical demarcation on the ground impossible. But the entire length of the border has been either defined by treaty or recognised by custom or by both and until now the Chinese Government have not protested against the exercise of jurisdiction by the Government of India upto the customary border. You have yourself acknowledged the fact that no armed clash ever occurred along our border until the beginning of this year. All Chinese Government have respected the Indian border. The fact that previous Chinese Governments were weak is no answer. Not even a protest was registered in accordance with established state practice in this regard, as was done in the case of Burma between 1906 and 1937.

5. Concerning the boundary between Tibet and Ladakh, it is incorrect to say that the then Chinese Central Government did not send anybody to participate

in the conclusion of the treaty between Tibet and Kashmir in 1842. The treaty was signed by the representatives of both the Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China. Kalon Sokon, one of the signatories, though by birth a Tibetan, had Chinese rank. Even the Tibetan version of the treaty makes it clear that China was a party to it. Thus, it asserts that "there will never be on any account in future till the world lasts, any deviation even by the hair's breadth and any breach in the alliance, friendship and unity between the King of the world Siri Khalsaji Sahib and Siri Maharaj Sahib Raja-i-Rajagan Rajagan Sahib Bahadur, and the Khagan of China and the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhasa."

6. It is true that the 1842 treaty referred merely to the "old established frontiers." This was because these frontiers were well-known and did not require any formal delimitation. Even the treaty of 1684 between Ladakh and Tibet stated that "the boundaries fixed in the beginning, when Skyid-Ida-ngeema-gon gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall still be maintained." References in the Ladakhi chronicles of the 17th century indicate that the boundary was well-established. Cunningham, whom Your Excellency has referred to with approval, toured the area in 1846. He stated in 1854 that the eastern boundary of Ladakh "is well defined by piles of stones, which were set up after the last expulsion of the Sokpo or Mongol hordes in A.D. 1687 when the Ladakhis received considerable assistance from Kashmir." (*Ladakh*, 1854, page 261).<sup>71</sup> Thus it is clear that for nearly two centuries the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet was well-known and recognised by both sides. There was a constant flow of trade between Ladakh and Tibet during these centuries as provided for by these treaties, and no boundary conflicts ever arose.

7. It has been stated in your letter that China never ratified the 1842 treaty. That China recognised the treaty is clear from the fact that the Chinese official in 1847 informed the British Government: "Respecting the frontiers I beg to remark that the borders of those territories have been sufficiently and distinctly fixed, so that it will be best to adhere to this ancient arrangement and it will prove far more convenient to abstain from any additional measures for fixing them." There was no suggestion that the Chinese Government regarded the treaty as invalid. It is also clear from the statement quoted that not merely was the boundary known, but the boundary was distinctly and sufficiently fixed and there was no divergence of opinion as to where it lay.

8. Further evidence of Chinese acceptance of the 1842 treaty is provided by the fact that the other provisions of the treaty regarding exchange of goods

71. The book was published as: Alexander Cunningham, *Ladakh: Physical, Statistical and Historical with Notices of the Surrounding Countries* (London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1854).



and presents were in operation right up to 1946 without any hindrance from the Chinese Government.

9. It is incorrect to say that down to 1899 the British Government proposed formally to delimit this section of the boundary but that the Chinese Government did not agree. No proposals were made between 1847 and 1899 for any such formal delimitation. The proposal made in 1899 by the British Government referred not to the eastern frontier of Ladakh with Tibet but to the northern frontier of Ladakh and Kashmir with Sinkiang. It was stated in that context that the northern boundary ran along the Kuen Lun range to a point east of 80° east longitude, where it met the eastern boundary of Ladakh. This signified beyond doubt that the whole of Aksai Chin area lay in Indian territory. The Government of China did not object to this proposal.

10. So Ladakh, Tibet and China had all accepted that the frontier between Ladakh and Tibet was the customary boundary. You have stated that the boundary as shown in the Chinese maps follows, more or less, that shown in the map of "Punjab, Western Himalaya and adjoining parts of Tibet" compiled by Walker<sup>72</sup> and attached to Cunningham's book published in 1854. Walker's Map states in the Compilation Index that the document used for this sector is the "Map of Ladakh and Nari Khorsum by Capt. J. Strachey". Now, Strachey toured only a part of Ladakh in 1847-48. He knew little or nothing about Aksai Chin, having never visited the area, and drew the boundary where he thought the main water-parting, which was the natural and old established frontier in this area, lay. Thereafter a number of exploration and survey parties were sent by the Government of India to this region. These parties ascertained the customary frontier on the basis of natural features and such local evidence as was available. Johnson visited the area in 1865 and Frederick Drew, an Englishman in the employ of the Maharaja of Kashmir as Governor of Ladakh, in 1869. Other survey parties in the nineteenth century were those of Hayward, Shaw and Cayley in 1868. Carey in 1885-87, Hamilton Bower in 1891, Littledale in 1895, Welby and Malcolm in 1896, Deasy and Pike in 1896, and Aurel Stein in 1900. Accurate maps of the whole Ladakh area thus became possible only from 1865, after the aforementioned surveys had ascertained the exact lie of the watershed; and it is significant that most of the maps since that date show the customary boundary in accordance with the line shown by us in our map rather than that claimed by China. The later Map of Turkestan of Walker himself published in 1867-68, Drew's map attached to his book *Jammoo & Kashmir Territories*

72. John Walker, Geographer to the East India Company.

(1875),<sup>73</sup> Johnston's Atlas (1882),<sup>74</sup> and maps attached to the *Gazetteers of Kashmir* published from 1890 onwards all showed boundary lines more or less similar to our present frontier. Even official Chinese maps of the late nineteenth century showed a boundary approximating to our line. It is only in official Chinese maps of the twentieth century that the Chinese Government included large parts of our territory. On the other hand, *The New Atlas and Commercial Gazetteer of China*, published in Shanghai sometimes after 1917 by the *North China Daily News and Herald* on the basis of authoritative surveys, shows a boundary in the north-west similar to our alignment and a boundary in the north-east which approximates to what later became known as the MacMahon Line. I may add that the Chinese maps do not follow even Walker's Map of 1854 where it does not support the assertion made on behalf of China. Thus Walker shows the areas north of Demchok and north of Pangong in India but recent Chinese maps have not followed Walker's map in regard to these areas.

11. You have referred to the sector of the boundary between what is known as the Ari area of Tibet and India. We are told that Ari, which is an abbreviated form of Ngari Khorsum, is south-western Tibet. This is the sector of the boundary between the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in India and the Tibet region. You have stated that the boundary in this sector has never been formally delimited. In fact, there should be little doubt about the boundary in this sector. Article IV of the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement specifies six passes in this area. There was discussion of these passes between the Chinese and Indian representatives before the Agreement was concluded. Your original draft contained the following: "The Chinese Government agrees to open the following passes." On behalf of India Mr. Kaul then said that these were Indian passes. After some discussion both sides agreed on the following text: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes". Your Vice-Foreign Minister<sup>75</sup> remarked in that context. "This was the fifth concession on our part." This was recognition of the passes as border passes. In fact the Government of India have always been in control of the Indian ends of the passes.

12. I am particularly surprised by your statement that "the so-called MacMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibet Region of China". You further state that the agreement in regard to the

73. This book was published as: Fredrick Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories: A Geographical Account* (London: Edward Stanford, 1875).

74. This book was published as: Alexander Keith Johnston, *The Royal Atlas of Modern Geography* (Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, 1882).

75. Li Kenong.



*The Cartographer*



*China now considers the MacMahon Line "illegal" and has charged India with having occupied Chinese territory.*

*(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 20 SEPTEMBER 1959)*

frontier between India and Tibet was concluded between the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities and that it has never been recognised by any Chinese Central Government. From this you draw the conclusion that the agreement is illegal. The facts, however, are otherwise. The arrangements for the Simla Conference were made with the full knowledge and consent of the Government of China. The Foreign Minister of China wrote to the British representative on the 7th August 1913 that the Chinese plenipotentiary would proceed to India "to open negotiations for a treaty jointly" with the Tibetan and British plenipotentiaries. It is clear from the proceedings of the conference that not only did the Chinese representative fully participate in the conference but that the Tibetan representative took part in the discussions on an equal footing with the Chinese and the then British Indian representatives. Not only were the frontiers of India with Tibet discussed at the conference, but also the boundaries between Inner Tibet and China, and Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet. At no stage, either then or subsequently, did the Chinese Government object to the discussions on the boundary between India and Tibet at the conference. In the circumstances the agreement which resulted from the conference in regard to the MacMahon Line boundary between India and Tibet must, in accordance with accepted international practice, be regarded as binding on both China and Tibet. In fact this was not the first occasion when Tibet concluded an agreement with other countries. In 1856 Tibet concluded an agreement on its own with Nepal. The Convention signed by Britain and Tibet in 1904 was negotiated by the British and Tibetan representatives with the assistance of the Chinese Amban in Tibet.

13. You have stated that for a long time after the exchange of so-called secret notes between Britain and Tibet Britain did not dare to make public the related documents. You have also contended that the MacMahon Line "was later marked on the map attached to the Simla Treaty". I am afraid I cannot agree either with your facts or your conclusion. The Chinese representative at the Simla Conference was fully aware of the MacMahon Line boundary between India and Tibet. This particular line was discussed between the Tibetan and British Indian representatives, but when the draft convention emerging from the conference was presented on the 22nd April 1914 for signature by the British Indian, Tibetan and Chinese representatives, it had attached to it a map showing the MacMahon Line boundary as well as the boundaries between Inner Tibet and China, and Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet. Later, the Chinese Foreign Office in a memorandum, dated the 25th April 1914 listed a number of objections to the boundaries between Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet and Inner Tibet and China. It did not raise any objection to the boundary between Tibet and India as shown in the map attached to the tripartite Simla Convention. Thereafter, on the 27th



April, the Chinese representative initialled both the convention and the map without any objection. Subsequently, in their memorandum, dated the 13th June 1914, the Chinese made fresh proposals regarding the boundaries of Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet. It is significant that no mention was at all made in this memorandum of the boundary between Tibet and India. Almost five years later, on the 30th May 1919, the Government of China again suggested some modifications of the Simla Convention with a view to reaching a final settlement. These modifications related only to the boundaries between Inner Tibet and China and Inner Tibet and Outer Tibet. No reference at all was made to the boundary between Tibet and India (MacMahon Line). Looking into the old papers, we find that the British Government withheld the publication of the Simla Convention for several years in the hope that there would be an agreement about the status and boundary of Inner Tibet. The Simla Convention was published in the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties*<sup>76</sup> and the MacMahon Line was shown in the official maps from 1937 onwards. These maps were circulated widely but neither then nor subsequently were any objection raised by the Chinese authorities.

14. I entirely disagree with the inference drawn by you from the exchange of two communications between the Tibetan Bureau in Lhasa and the new Government of India in 1947. The facts are that our Mission in Lhasa forwarded to us a telegram, dated the 16th October 1947 from the Tibetan Bureau. The telegram asked for the return of alleged Tibetan territories on boundaries of India and Tibet "such as Sayul and Walong and in direction of Pemakoe, Lonag, Lopa, Mon, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling and others on this side of river Ganges and Lowo, Ladakh etc. upto boundary of Yarkhim." It will be seen that the areas claimed by Tibet had not been defined. If they were to be taken literally, the Tibetan boundary would come down to the line of the river Ganges. The Government of India could not possibly have entertained such a fantastic claim. If they had the faintest idea that this telegram would be made the basis of a subsequent claim to large areas of Indian territory, they would of course have immediately and unequivocally rejected the claim. Not having had such an impression, they sent a reply to the following effect: "The Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that it is the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements are reached on matters that either party may wish to take up. This is the procedure

76. This book was published as C.U. Aitchison, *Treaties and Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929).

adopted by all other countries with which India has inherited treaty relations from His Majesty's Government." It would be unfair to deduce from this reply that India undertook to negotiate fresh agreements with Tibet on the frontier question. When the British relinquished power and India attained freedom on the 15th August 1947, the new Government of India inherited the treaty obligations of undivided India. They wished to assure all countries with which the British Government of undivided India had treaties and agreements that the new Government of India would abide by the obligations arising from them. All that the Government of India intended to do in the telegram mentioned in Your Excellency's letter was to convey an assurance to that effect to the Tibetan authorities. There could be no question, so far as India was concerned, of reopening old treaties with Tibet with a view to entertaining, even for purposes of discussion, claims to large areas of Indian territory.

15. It is wrong to say that the frontier east of Bhutan as shown on Chinese maps is the traditional frontier. On the contrary, it is the MacMahon Line which correctly represents the customary boundary in this area. The water-parting formed by the crest of the Himalayas is the natural frontier which was accepted for centuries as the boundary by the peoples on both sides. The tribes inhabiting the area south of the MacMahon Line—the Monbas, Akas, Daflas, Miris, Abors, and Mishmis—are of the same ethnic stock as the other hill tribes of Assam and have no kinship with the Tibetans. The Tibetans themselves regard these tribes with contempt and group them all together as "Lopas". It is true that the boundary of two adjacent countries is not determined by the ethnic affiliations of the people living in these countries. Some sort of cultural intercourse between the peoples living on both sides of the frontier is also not uncommon. All the same it is significant that the tribes mentioned above have not been affected in the slightest degree by any Tibetan influence, cultural, political or other, and this can only be due to the fact that the Tibetan authorities have not exercised jurisdiction at any time in this area. On the other hand, Indian administration gradually moved up to these areas. Agreements were signed with the Akas in 1844 and 1888, the Abors in 1862-63 and 1866, and with the Monbas in 1844 and 1853, extending the authority of the Government of India over them. It was the British Government's policy generally to leave the tribes more or less to look after themselves and not seek to establish any detailed administration of these areas such as was to be found in the rest of British Indian territory. All the same British Political Officers visited these areas for settling disputes and such like purposes. Finally, the Sadiya Frontier Tract, approximately 10,000 square miles in area, was formed in 1912, and the Balipara Frontier Tract also comprising about 10,000 square miles, was formed in 1913, i.e., before the Simla Conference met. The Atlas of the Chinese Empire, published in London



by the Chinese Inland Mission in 1906, shows as the frontier in this area an alignment which is almost identical with what was settled at Simla in 1914. The area was extensively surveyed in 1911-13. The Lohit area was surveyed by the Mishmi Mission in 1911-12, the Dibhang Valley was surveyed in 1912-13, and the Abor area in 1913. Captain Bailey carried out extensive surveys of the southern limits of Tibetan jurisdiction in the whole area in 1913-14. It was on the basis of all this detailed information that the boundary was settled between India and Tibet in 1914. It is clear, therefore, that the MacMahon Line was not an arbitrary imposition on a weak Tibet by the Government of India. It formalised the natural, traditional, ethnic and administrative boundary in the area.

16. Your Excellency has referred to a map published by the *Survey of India* in 1917 and a map in the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The *Survey of India* map shows the line claimed by China but on the same sheet, in the index map, the MacMahon Line is also shown. The reason for this is that the British Indian Government were reluctant to issue new maps of India showing only the MacMahon Line in the hope that China would accept the Simla Convention as a whole. As for the map in the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, it is true that in the eastern sector it shows roughly the line now claimed by China. But the same map shows the whole of Aksai Chin as a part of Ladakh. It would therefore be unfair to quote the authority of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in support of the Chinese claim in one sector of the boundary and to reject it in respect of the other. In fact, if maps published privately in other countries are to be cited as evidence, we can refer to a large number of such maps in our support. For example, the map of *Asie Meridionale* published by Andriveau-Coujon in Paris in 1876 and the map of *Asie Orientale* published by the same firm in 1881 show the whole tribal area as outside Tibet. The *Atlas of the Chinese Empire* published by the China Inland Mission in 1906<sup>77</sup> shows a boundary which approximates to the MacMahon Line. The British War Office Map of the Chinese Empire published in October 1907<sup>78</sup> shows almost the entire tribal territory in India. The map in Sir Francis Younghusband's volume *India and Tibet* published in London in 1910<sup>79</sup> shows

77. This book was published as: Edward Stanford, *Atlas of the Chinese Empire* (London: China Inland Mission and Morgan and Scott Ltd., 1906).

78. It was published as: Edward Stanford, *Atlas of the Chinese Empire: Containing Separate Maps of the Eighteen Provinces of China Proper on the Scale of 1:3,000,000 and the Four Great Dependencies on the Scale of 1:7,500,000, Together with an Index to All Names on the Maps and a List of All Protestant Mission Stations* (London: China Inland Mission, 1907).

79. This book was published as: Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910).

the Tribal area in India; and so does the map in Sir Charles Bell's book *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford 1924).<sup>80</sup>

17. It is not clear to us what exactly is the implication of your statement that the boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan do not fall within the scope of the present discussion. In fact, Chinese maps show sizeable areas of Bhutan as part of Tibet. Under treaty relationships with Bhutan, the Government of India are the only competent authority to take up with other Governments matters concerning Bhutan's external relations, and in fact we have taken up with your Government a number of matters on behalf of the Bhutan Government. The rectification of errors in Chinese maps regarding the boundary of Bhutan with Tibet is therefore a matter which has to be discussed along with the boundary of India with the Tibet region of China in the same sector. As regards Sikkim, the Chinese Government recognised as far back as 1890 that the Government of India "has direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of that State". This Convention of 1890 also defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet; and the boundary was later, in 1895, demarcated. There is thus no dispute regarding the boundary of Sikkim with the Tibet region.

18. You have stated that the Sino-Indian boundary is about 2,000 kilometres in length, is wholly undelimited, and that it is not Chinese maps but British and Indian maps that have been unilaterally altering the Sino-Indian boundary. In fact, the Sino-Indian boundary (apart from the boundary of Sikkim and Bhutan with Tibet) extends over 3,520 kilometres. It is wrong to say that this long boundary is wholly undelimited. The frontier east of Bhutan has been explicitly delineated on the 1914 treaty map. The frontier of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh has been clarified by implication by the mention of six passes in the 1954 Agreement. As for the charge that British and Indian maps have been unilaterally altering the boundary, the fact is that early British maps showed the boundary roughly where the British thought the water-parting was at the time. Later, as more topographical as well as local information about the water-parting was obtained, the boundary was shown with greater precision on the subsequent maps. The discrepancies between the earlier and later maps are also explained in part by the fact that British cartographers as a rule showed in their maps the administrative boundaries irrespective of the actual alignment of the frontier. Therefore, as administration was gradually extended in the frontier areas, corresponding changes were made in the boundaries on the later maps. Thus the map of India published by the Survey of India in 1895 (1=128 miles) showed

80. It was published as: Charles Alfred Bell, *Tibet Past and Present* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924).



the unadministered areas of northern Burma and north-eastern India upto what subsequently came to be known as the MacMahon Line by a light orange colour wash as distinct from the deeper colours used for the rest of the Indian territory. The *Memoranda on Native States in India* published by the Government of India in 1908 has a map in Volume II showing this whole tribal area as a part of India. The fact is that the present frontiers of India have always been the historic frontiers, but administration in the British period was only gradually extended up to these frontiers. Shortly after India attained independence in 1947 the Government of India decided, as a matter of policy, to bring these frontier areas under more direct administrative control to enable them to share in the benefits of a welfare state subject to the protection of their distinct social and cultural patterns. It is not true to say that it was only after the recent Tibetan crisis and the entry into India of a large number of Tibetans that Indian troops started advancing steadily in the North-East Frontier Agency. In fact administrative personnel, civil and police, had been functioning in these areas right up to the MacMahon frontier for several years before the recent disturbances broke out in Tibet. However, we did not have any military force anywhere in the border areas. There was only an armed constabulary in support of the civil personnel and even the frontier posts were manned by this constabulary. It was only when our outpost at Longju was overpowered by superior Chinese military force and our personnel elsewhere along the frontier were being intimidated by Chinese forces that we decided to place the responsibility for the protection of the frontier on our army.

19. It should be clear from what has been stated in previous paragraphs that it is the Chinese maps that have altered the boundary alignments through the years to include large areas of Indian territory in China. It should also be stated that Chinese maps published even after 1949 have not adhered to any definite frontier. Different maps show different alignments in the same sector.

20. I am sorry to have to say that it is the Chinese Government who have been trying unilaterally to change the long-existing state of the border. There is no other explanation for the presence of Chinese personnel in Bara Hoti and of Chinese troops in the Aksai Chin area, Khurnak Fort, Mandal, Spanggur, Khinzemane and Longju, and for Chinese intrusions in the Spiti area, Shipki pass, the Nilang-Jadhang area, Sangcha, Lapthal, and the Dichu Valley. Nor is it correct to say that Chinese troops have never crossed the MacMahon Line. Both Khinzemane and Longju are south of this line.

21. The Government of India emphatically repudiate the allegation that in recent times they have "invaded and occupied" a number of places in the middle sector of the boundary. In fact it is the Chinese forces which have made persistent efforts in recent times to come into and occupy indisputably Indian territory.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Details of intrusions and attempted intrusions by Chinese forces have been given in the attached note. These intrusions have been particularly marked in the Spanggur area, where Chinese forces have been pushing forward in an aggressive manner during the last year or two in disregard of the traditional frontier. The Chinese have only recently established a new camp near the western extremity of the Spanggur lake at a point which even according to some official Chinese maps is in Indian territory. It is not for us to comment on the reports of large-scale movements of Chinese forces in the Tibetan frontier areas. We hope that these moves do not signify a new policy of actively probing into Indian territory along the whole length of the Sino-Indian frontier.

22. Reports have reached us that some Chinese officers in Tibet have repeatedly proclaimed that the Chinese authorities will before long take possession of Sikkim, Bhutan, Ladakh and our North-East Frontier Agency. I do not know what authority they had to make these remarks but I would like to draw your Excellency's attention to them as these remarks have naturally added to the tension on the frontier.

23. Your Excellency has spoken of Indian parties having trespassed into Chinese territory. Nowhere have our personnel done so. Even if they had done so through an error of judgment at any point in the barren wastes of some far-flung frontier region, we would have expected that a friendly Government would promptly bring it to our notice for remedial action. Instead, last year when an Indian party was engaged on routine administrative patrol near Haji Langar in Ladakh, your forces arrested them and did not inform us of the arrest until we had enquired of almost five weeks later. In the meantime our personnel were subjected to threats, harsh treatment and severe interrogation. Surely this is not the manner in which the personnel of a friendly Government should have been treated.

24. The charge that India has been shielding armed Tibetan rebels in the frontier areas in the north-east is wholly unfounded and we firmly reject it. On the contrary, our personnel disarmed the Tibetan rebels as soon as they crossed the frontier into Indian territory and insisted on their moving well away from the frontier areas. The few who showed disinclination to do so were told that they would not get asylum in India and made to leave our territory finally.

25. There is no truth in the allegation that Indian aircraft have repeatedly violated Chinese territorial air in this area. We have issued definite instruction to all our aircraft to avoid trespass into Chinese air space and we are assured that this instruction has been carefully observed. You will appreciate, however, that aircraft engaged in supply dropping missions to a frontier outpost may accidentally cross the international frontier or appear to do so even though it has not actually crossed the frontier. Our anxiety to respect the Chinese territorial



air space would be clear from the fact that when in July last the officer in charge of our outpost at Longju fell seriously ill we informed your Government that we would be para-dropping a doctor. The object of our giving the information to your Government was to ensure that you would not misunderstand it if by error of judgment our aircraft should cross into Chinese territory in flying over a frontier outpost. For the same reason we also gave you information in advance that survey operations would be carried out from the air on our side of the border during the months from November 1959 to February 1960. Incidentally, the information that we gave you about Longju would disprove any suggestion that we had surreptitiously started an outpost on Chinese territory. Had we done so, we would not have given its location to your Government.

26. I have looked into the allegation that the boundary drawn on Indian maps includes in many places even more territory than the MacMahon Line, but have been unable to discover any basis for it. If you have in mind the Sino-Indian frontier shown in the Indian maps in the Migyitun area which differs slightly from the boundary shown in the Treaty map, the position can be easily explained. As settled between the British and the Chinese representatives at the time of the Simla Conference, the boundary was to follow the natural features, but a reservation was made that Migyitun (and a few other places) would be within Tibetan territory. This was done in order to leave within Tibet the two sacred lakes of Tsari Sarpa and Tso Karpo which were places of pilgrimage for Tibetans and the village of Migyitun from which the pilgrimage started. At the time of the Simla Convention, the exact topographical features in this area were not known. Later, after the topography of the area had been definitely ascertained, the actual boundary followed the geographical features except where a departure was necessary to leave Migyitun within Tibetan territory. The actual boundary as shown in the Indian maps, therefore, merely gave effect to the treaty map in the area based on definite topography. This was in accordance with established international practice.

27. I entirely disagree with your view that the tense situation that has arisen on the border has been caused by Indian trespassing and provocation. In fact, as the attached note will show, it is the Chinese who have trespassed into Indian territory across the traditional border at a number of places in recent years. You have mentioned that we in India have staged a second so-called anti-Chinese campaign. This, if I may say so, is the reverse of the actual position. Despite the regrettable happenings on the frontier of our two countries, we in India have conducted ourselves with great restraint and moderation. At a number of places your forces assumed a threatening attitude; at others they actually came into our territory. Such incidents concerning as they did the integrity of India, were very serious, but in our anxiety not to create feelings against your

Government we deliberately avoided giving publicity to them. Questions in Parliament had, however, to be answered and the facts could not be withheld. When the facts thus became known, the reaction both in Parliament and among the public was one of dismay and great resentment. There was criticism of our Government both in Parliament and the press for our failure to give publicity to these developments at an earlier stage. Under the Indian Constitution Parliament is supreme. India has also a free press and the Government could not restrain public criticism. In the circumstances, to allege that the Government of India built up pressure on China in any manner is a complete misreading of the facts of the situation. It is also based on complete misunderstanding of the constitutional procedures under which the Government, Parliament and the press function in India. Needless to say, such an allegation is entirely baseless.

28. I have stated before and wish to affirm once again that the Government of India attach great importance to the maintenance of friendly relations with China. They have hitherto sought to conduct their relations with China, as with other countries, in the spirit of Panchsheel. This indeed had always been India's policy even before the five principles were enunciated. It is therefore all the more a matter of regret and surprise to us that China should now have put forth claims to large areas of Indian territory inhabited by hundreds of thousands of Indian nationals, which have been under the administrative jurisdiction of India for many years. No Government could possibly discuss the future of such large areas which are an integral part of their territory. We however recognise that the India-China frontier which extends over more than 3,500 kilometres has not been demarcated on the ground and disputes may therefore arise at some places along the traditional frontier as to whether these places lie on the Indian or the Tibetan side of this traditional frontier. We agree therefore that the border disputes which have already arisen should be amicably and peacefully settled. We also agree that until a settlement has been reached the status quo should be maintained. In the meantime both sides should respect the traditional frontier and neither party should seek to alter the status quo in any matter. Further, if any party has trespassed into the other's territory across the traditional frontier, it should immediately withdraw to its side of the frontier. So far as the Government of India are concerned, at no places at present have they any personnel, civil, police or military, on the Tibetan side of the traditional frontier. There was only one outpost, that at Tamadem, established some months ago, which, subsequent enquiries showed, was somewhat north of the MacMahon Line. In keeping with our earlier promise we have already withdrawn it to a point south of the Line. There can therefore be no question of withdrawing any Indian personnel at any other place. We would now request that in the same spirit your Government should withdraw their personnel from a number of



posts which you have opened in recent months at Spanggur, Mandal and one or two other places in eastern Ladakh. Similarly, your forces should also withdraw from Longju which they forcibly occupied on the 26th August and which they still continue to occupy. No discussions can be fruitful unless the posts on the Indian side of the traditional frontier now held by the Chinese forces are first evacuated by them and further threats and intimidations immediately cease.

29. Mr. Prime Minister, I regret that I have had to write to you at this length and in such detail. But I must frankly say that your letter of the 8th September has come as a great shock to us. India was one of the first countries to extend recognition to the People's Republic of China and for the last ten years we have consistently sought to maintain and strengthen our friendship with your country. When our two countries signed the 1954 Agreement in regard to the Tibet region I hoped that the main problems which history had bequeathed to us in the relations between India and China had been peacefully and finally settled. Five years later, you have now brought forward, with all insistence, a problem which dwarfs in importance all that we have discussed in recent years and, I thought, settled. I appreciate your statement that China looks upon her south-western border as a border of peace and friendship. This hope and this promise could be fulfilled only if China would not bring within the scope of what should essentially be a border dispute, claims to thousands of square miles of territory which have been and are integral part of the territory of India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 95. To U Nu: Border Troubles with China<sup>81</sup>

29th September, 1959

My dear U Nu,

Your letter dated the 19th September reached me on the eve of my departure from Delhi for a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Chandigarh in the Punjab. I returned from Chandigarh this morning and I hasten to reply to your letter.

First of all, let me say that I was happy to hear from you. It is always a pleasure to have news of you and from you. I hope you are keeping well.

81. Letter to U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma.

The border troubles with China have been distressing. What has distressed me more in the actual argument about the border has been the general attitude of the Chinese authorities. This comes out in a variety of ways. Chou En-lai's letters to me as well as other communications from the Chinese Government have often been even lacking in normal politeness. Our Trade Agents in Tibet are constantly harassed and it is difficult for them to carry on their normal work.<sup>82</sup> And then there are the repeated organised propaganda campaigns against India. All this indicates a definite attitude. I can only imagine that this is, partly at least, due to Chinese resentment at India's attitude in regard to events in Tibet and the Dalai Lama. This has produced strong reactions in India and the old days of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" are no more. In fact, I have tried to tone down these reactions to some extent.

As a Government, we have tried to function correctly in so far as Tibet is concerned. We cannot stop public criticisms of Chinese actions in Tibet and some of our opposition parties more especially have taken advantage of these developments to condemn our Government. As for the Dalai Lama, we have treated him with respect and given him our hospitality but we have made it clear to him that we do not approve of his using Indian soil for political activities against China. It has, however, been rather difficult to draw the line. Some people in India have been inciting him to do various things, such as to raise the Tibetan question in the UN. We advised him against it. But the pressure on him was great and this question is apparently coming up in the UN. It can do no good except to drag Tibet into the cold war.

It has seemed to me that the new rigidity and aggressiveness of Chinese foreign policy is partly associated with developments within China. As you must know, within China also the situation has changed repeatedly and grown more and more rigid. This has done them little good and they have been compelled by circumstances to slow down the pace of change of the communes etc. They have also had to admit that many of the figures of progress in regard to production made last year were greatly exaggerated. In addition to all this, China appears to have suffered greatly by floods this year.

From all the information we have received, it appears that the Soviet Government has not approved of these developments in China. They think that many of these internal policies are rather adventurist and not based on experience and careful thinking. They do not approve of the attempt to spread communes

82. *The Tribune* of 9 September 1959 reported that GOI had complained to China on 7 September 1959 that Indian trade posts at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet "cannot function in the way envisaged in the Sino-Indian agreement." This Note was not reproduced in the *White Paper II*.



everywhere at this stage. The Soviet Government also has obviously not approved of the aggressive attitude of China in regard to India. This is a new development because thus far in any controversy between a communist government and a non-communist one, the Soviet has always fully sided with the communist government. On the present occasion, they have taken up a middle attitude, which itself is an indirect criticism of the Chinese position.

I cannot discuss our whole border problems because that is a complicated matter. We have a border with China now of 2,500 miles. Part of this is what is called the MacMahon Line which you have in Burma too. Other parts are governed either by old treaties or conventions and usage. To us it does seem absurd that these major claims on large areas of our territory should be made by China now. I could understand minor disputes about the proper alignment of our frontier in these high mountains. No Government in India is going to agree to the Chinese claims, whatever the consequences might be. But we are always prepared to discuss particular cases of alignment where a dispute might have arisen.

We have issued a "White Paper" containing correspondence between India and China during the last few years. We propose to issue another one giving subsequent correspondence. If you are interested in this matter and wish to see these brochures, our Ambassador in Rangoon will, I am sure, be able to supply them to you.<sup>83</sup>

You suggest in your letter that some of my close associates might be sent to China to create a suitable political climate for discussing these problems. You are even good enough to suggest that you might yourself take the trouble of going there for this purpose. I am very grateful to you for this suggestion. I think, however, that no purpose will be served by people going to China with this end in view at this stage. Indeed, I am inclined to think that it might have adverse reactions, both in China and India. In India, any such approach by us would be sharply criticised. In China, it would create a feeling that we are alarmed by these developments and are anxious to find some way out. Probably this will lead not to a softening of the Chinese attitude but to greater rigidity.

The time will no doubt come when direct talks will have to take place. But there can be no question of direct talks when the demand made is for large areas of India to be handed over to China. For the present, therefore, we shall continue our correspondence with the Chinese Government.

I am sorry to say that my feeling is that the Chinese Government does not think too much of sweet reason or logic and can only understand a strong attitude.

83. Lalji Mehrotra.

Our attitude, therefore, has been and will continue to be firm but with always a desire to come to peaceful settlements by discussions. I do not think there is any real chance of a major conflict on the border but there is a possibility of petty conflicts here and there. I hope even these will be avoided. But if the Chinese authorities try to push forward in any of our areas, they will be resisted.

As you know, Mr. Khrushchev is going to Peking for their October Celebrations.<sup>84</sup> Very probably he will discuss, among other matters, this question of the India-China border. He is not interested in the actual alignment but he is interested in peaceful relations between India and China and he thinks, I believe, that the Chinese attitude has been unnecessarily aggressive.

I feel, therefore, that matters should be allowed to rest where they are except that we shall carry on our correspondence with the Chinese Government. Also we have necessarily to take precautions in such of our border areas as might be threatened.

All good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 96. To Chou En-lai: National Celebrations<sup>85</sup>

On behalf of my colleagues in the Government of India and on my own behalf, I have pleasure in sending your Excellency and, through you, to the Government and the people of the People's Republic of China, our felicitations on this day of your national celebrations together with our sincere wishes for the progress and prosperity of your people.

I take this opportunity to express the hope that the friendly relations between our two countries will grow stronger in the years to come.

84. He was in Peking from 30 September to 4 October 1959.

85. Report of message, 30 September 1959. From the *National Herald*, 1 October 1959.



## (c)Tibet

**97. In the Lok Sabha: Referring Tibet to the UN<sup>86</sup>**

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Resolution moved by the hon. Member<sup>87</sup> appears to be a fairly simple one, simply-worded. But as the course of this debate has shown, behind that Resolution lie high international issues and big problems with big consequences. Now, I suppose everyone in this House has a feeling of the deepest sympathy at the sufferings of the Tibetan people. There is no doubt about that. As everyone knows, we have given refuge and asylum not only to the Dalai Lama but to nearly 13,000 others. In fact we have given refuge to everyone who came. I cannot remember the case of a single person whom we denied refuge in this case, in regard to Tibet. That itself was evidence of our feelings in this matter.

But feeling apart, our sympathy for the Tibetans apart, what exactly should we do about it? What exactly should we do even, let us say, to give expression to those feelings of sympathy? Some hon. Members have delivered rather brave speeches as to the evil deeds perpetrated by other countries. It is easy enough to talk about them and it is easy enough to find many faults in the ways the countries behave. But, if a country like India has to function, we have to function in a mature way, in a considered way, in a way which at least promises some kind of results. It is absolutely—I should say respectfully—pointless for us to make brave gestures and it is worse than pointless if these brave gestures react and rebound on us and injure us or injure the cause which we seek to promote.

So far as this question of Tibet is concerned, we may look at it from many points of view: historical, cultural and other contacts with India, China, etc. It is a long and chequered history and one need not go into it. When a country has had a long and chequered history, it supplies enough material for any party to support any claim. The Chinese claim that Tibet was subject to their sovereignty or suzerainty—I do not know what word they use—for hundreds of years. The Tibetans claim that they were independent for many periods except when they were forced into some kind of subservience. Now, really this may be interesting to the historical students, but it does not help us. It is a fact, of course, that for a period of 40 years or so, for all practical purposes, ever since the Manchu Dynasty fell or a little after that, Tibet was practically independent; even so not

86. Statement, 4 September 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIV, cols 6536-6554.

87. A.B. Vajpayee.

hundred per cent, even so China never gave up her claim. But in effect it was independent.

As I said, it does not help us very much. Of course, if this question arose in the International Court of Justice at The Hague—of course, it will not; such questions do not arise there because national states do not take them there and China, anyhow, has nothing to do with the International Court of Justice at The Hague—they might consider all these questions.

The two or three main considerations are that internationally considered, Tibet has not been considered as an independent country. It has been considered an autonomous country but under the suzerainty or sovereignty of China. That was the case before India became independent, with the United Kingdom, with Russia—not only the Soviet Union but the Czarist Russia previous to that—and these were the main countries concerned. The rest of the world did not pay the slightest attention to Tibet except that it was some kind of a land of mystery.

That being so, when India became independent and we inherited more or less the position as it was in British days, both the advantages and the disadvantages of it, well, for a moment we carried on. We did not like many things there—I mean to say the extra territorial privileges that we have there which certainly were relics of British imperialism in Tibet. We did not like that particularly, but we were too busy for the first year or two to interfere with anything.

Then came this Chinese incursion or invasion into Tibet. At no time had we denied Chinese over-lordship of Tibet, you might call it what you like. That has been the position all along. Even in recent years we have not denied it. Even after independence, even before the People's Government of China came there we had not denied it. In fact, we had somewhat functioned as if we accepted it.

Now, when this came we had to face a difficult situation in law, and constitutionally speaking we could not say anything because of the position we had accepted and the world had accepted. Nevertheless, we were rather pained and upset at the way things were happening, armies marching, and what appeared to be a forcible conquest and occupation of Tibet. We sent some notes in those days, some one or two notes politely worded, expressing the hope that this question would be peacefully solved. I am afraid, the replies we got from the Chinese Government were not equally politely worded at that time, I am speaking from memory...

An Hon. Member: That is a fact.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a fact. I am talking about the sequence of events;



that I am speaking from memory.

Then, a country, El Salvador, a member of the United Nations sponsored some kind of a motion on Tibet in the United Nations. It was a motion for the inclusion of the item on the agenda of the General Assembly and with it was a draft resolution condemning, what they called the unprovoked aggression in Tibet and suggesting the appointment of a committee to study the appropriate measures to be taken.<sup>88</sup>

Now, there was some discussion on this question of the inclusion of the item on the agenda. The representative of India, and I believe the representative in this particular case was the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar, pleaded that this matter might be settled peacefully and it would be better not to take it up in this way. He added, I believe, that we had received some assurances from the Chinese Government that they wanted to settle it peacefully by negotiation, and therefore the inclusion of this item on the agenda be adjourned. This suggestion was supported by the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, Soviet Union, and for its own reasons no doubt, even by what might be called Kuomintang China in Formosa. The item was postponed. The postponement was agreed to.

On what basis did the Jamsaheb say that we had received assurances from the Chinese Government? I am sorry I have not got the exact papers with me, but so far as I can remember, we had received a message from the Chinese Government in answer to our representations and to our requests to the effect that they wanted to settle it by negotiation and in a peaceful way. In fact, I think they had stopped the march of their army somewhere near the eastern borders of Tibet.

Also, some representatives of the Tibetan Government sent by the Dalai Lama were to proceed to Peking to discuss this matter. In those days, until quite recently, the easiest and simplest way for a person going from Lhasa to Peking was via India. It was much more difficult to go via the Gobi desert and all that. In fact, even after the People's Government of China came into power, on several occasions they sent their representatives or their other people via India to Tibet. It was simpler; from Calcutta right up to Gangtok in Sikkim and

88. *The Statesman* of 11 September 1959 said: "Dalai Lama formally appealed on 9 September 1959 to the UN to take action over the problem of Tibet. He referred to the Steering Committee's decision on 24 November 1950, to adjourn consideration of a proposal by El Salvador that the invasion of Tibet by foreign forces be debated and said that it is with deepest regret that I am informing you that the act of aggression by Chinese forces has not terminated."

through Nathu La onwards. The Tibetan representatives, on their way to Peking, came to Delhi. It was more or less natural. Also, I suppose, they wanted to consult us. This happened ten years ago, and I have no very clear recollection of the sequence of events. I know they remained in Delhi for rather a long time, why exactly it was not clear to me. Anyhow they did. It was this sequence of events that led us to make that suggestion in the United Nations, and the matter was not discussed.

Afterwards, as a matter of fact, there was no proper negotiation with the team that the Tibetans sent. Long before they reached Peking, the other developments took place in Tibet. I think the Chinese army started marching again and the Dalai Lama and his representatives came to an agreement with them. Maybe, of course, the agreement might have been under compulsion of events, under pressure, but it was an agreement signed on behalf of the Dalai Lama, etc.

May I say this in this connection? The hon. Member Shri Vajpayee stated that the Dalai Lama came to the 17-point agreement with China because of certain assurances that I gave him and further that this was after the Chinese Prime Minister's visit to India. He has got these things rather mixed up. There was no question of my giving any assurance, and the Chinese Prime Minister had not come to India and I had not gone to China. I had not met the Chinese Prime Minister at the time of this so-called 17-point agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama's Government, whatever it was. So, the question of any assurances from us does not come in at all. The only thing that we accepted was—based on the message received from the Chinese Government—what the Jamsaheb said in the United Nations Security Council, namely, that the Chinese said they wanted a peaceful settlement of this question and on the basis of that, it was not considered.

After that, there was this 17-point agreement in which some stress was laid on the autonomy of Tibet. Again it would be wrong to say that this stress on autonomy was included there because of our pressure and our desire. Certainly, it was our desire undoubtedly, but when the agreement was concluded, we were not there; we were not asked to express our opinion. It was between the Chinese Government and the Tibetans. So, it is not correct to say that they had given us an assurance which they broke later.

What happened was that, several years afterwards, when Premier Chou En-lai came here, we had talks about Tibet and the Dalai Lama too was here at that time. The talks, I believe, were really initiated by Premier Chou En-lai and he wanted to explain to me—he did explain—what their position was in regard to Tibet, not because he was answering some charge made by me or because he thought that it was incumbent on him to do so, but because he felt—I take it—



that we had friendly relations and he had to try to convince me of China's position and case.

He began by telling me that Tibet had always been a part of the Chinese State, "always" meaning for hundreds and hundreds of years. Occasionally when China was weak, that sovereignty was not exercised properly, but he said Tibet had always been a part of Chinese State. That was his case. He further added: but Tibet is not China proper. It is part of the Chinese State. It is not the Hun people there. Chinese are the Hun people, but these are the Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, etc. Tibet, he said, is not a province of China. It is an autonomous region of the Chinese State and we want to respect that autonomy. That is what he told me. In fact, he went on to say that some people imagined that we want to thrust communism on Tibet. That is absurd, because the Tibetans, socially speaking, are so backward that communism is very far from the Tibetan state of affairs now. But, he said, certainly it is a very backward State and we want to make them progress socially, economically, etc.

Even then, that is, three years ago, some trouble had started internally in Tibet or rather on the eastern border of Tibet, particularly in an area which was not in Tibet proper, but it was Tibetan really in population—the Kham area, which was on the eastern border of Tibet, but inhabited by Tibetans. The portion had been incorporated in China a little while ago; I forget when—not now anyway, but previous to all this. The Tibetans there, the Khampas, did not take kindly to certain Chinese measures, because although the Chinese Government left Tibet proper more or less untouched in the sense of any so-called land reforms or any other reforms, politically they held Tibet firmly. But they did not interfere—that is what Premier Chou En-lai told me: "We do not wish to interfere; let them gradually develop themselves." But in this eastern part which was considered a part of China—they treated it as a part of China—this ultimately led to the Khampa rebellion there, a kind of guerilla rebellion, which had already lasted for a fair time, a year or more, when Premier Chou En-lai came here three years ago. We did not discuss that. But he referred to it and said: we do not wish to interfere with the Tibetans, with their internal structure, internal autonomy, social custom, religion or anything; but we would not, of course, tolerate rebellion and foreign interference etc. Well, I do not know what he meant or thought when he said foreign interference or imperialist interference, but I find that they had some kind of a kink in their minds, not so much, I think, of India having anything to do with it, but of foreign countries, United Kingdom or America somehow making incursions into Tibet, because they had got those countries in their mind. They have not quite realised that the United Kingdom has absolutely no interest in Tibet since they left India. They just cannot reach it. They have no means, no representative there; they have

nobody there even to give them any news. And, to my knowledge, neither has the United States, in fact. The only representative in Tibet of any other country is that of India, the Consul-General; probably the Soviet Union also; possibly also Mongolia. But what I meant to say was there were no Europeans or Americans. Anyhow this is what he told me: the rebellion is going on. So, we had this talk and you may call it what you like. But it was more an explanation to me. It was not some kind of an assurance extracted by me from Premier Chou En-lai. I say this because people might say: oh, you did this because of that guarantee given to you. It was not a guarantee in that sense. It was certainly something which, when I heard, pleased me, about the autonomy of Tibet etc. But I have no business to call him to account saying: "you guaranteed and you are not doing it", in that sense, though I must say that I was pained when, because of other developments, the structure of the autonomy broke down completely.

Well, this internal revolt in Tibet gradually spread month after month, year after year. It spread slowly from the east westwards. And I have personally little doubt that the great majority of Tibetans, even though they did not during this period participate in it, sympathised with it; I have no doubt about it. And that is for obvious reason, not on any high grounds but for the simple reason that the Tibetans, like others, have a strong nationalist sense, and they resented those whom they considered outsiders coming in and upsetting their life and all the structure in which they lived. So, this spread and then other things happened.

One need not go into the detailed history but the trouble in Lhasa itself, partly of course, I think, may have been caused by various activities of the Chinese governors. Where a ruler, an outsider, an alien ruler has to deal with the population which is not friendly, well, the relationship can well be imagined. It is not a healthy relationship. The ruler is afraid, the people are afraid, both of each other. And when fear governs the relations of two parties, it is likely to lead to bad results. In fact, wherever a country is a subject country, that is an unhealthy relationship. Well, that led to this upheaval in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa, coming to India and so on and so forth. After that I have no accurate news of what has happened.

I think we may broadly say that there has been strong military pressure on several parts of Tibet and the Tibetans enjoy far from autonomy under the military government there. It may be that the stories that we hear about happenings inside Tibet are exaggerated, because most of the stories inevitably come from refugees, and refugees, however good they may be, having suffered themselves, are apt to give rather a coloured picture, and the picture is not of what they have seen or what they have heard. So, it goes on increasing. So, it may be that the stories are exaggerated. But as a responsible person I cannot



repeat those stories till I have some kind of a proof. But whether they are exaggerated or not there can be little doubt that a great deal has happened in Tibet which is deplorable and that the people of Tibet have suffered much and that it can certainly not be said that it is a happy family living together.

Previously when this matter came up before this House I said that our approach to these problems was governed by two or three factors. Among these I mentioned two—our sympathy for the Tibetan people and our desire to maintain friendly relations with China. Now that may appear to be something contradictory and it does in the present contact slightly contradicts each other. That is the difficulty of the situation. But that does not get away from our basic approach which is governed by these two factors. The third factor, of course, is and always will be the integrity of India and the freedom of India. It is our first duty to protect that.

Why do I say that? Because I want to repeat that any step that we may take now cannot be taken in a huff, if I may say so, because we are angry and we do something regardless of the consequences of that step. We work not only in the present but for the future—for the distant future. I have always thought that it is important, even essential if you like, that these two countries of Asia, India and China, should have friendly and as far as possible cooperative relations. It is a remarkable fact of history—and I do not think you will find it duplicated elsewhere at any time—that during these two thousand years of relationship between India and China they have not had any kind of military conflict. It has been a cultural relationship. It has been to some extent a trade relationship. It has been a religious association. Throughout these long periods, they were not passive countries. They were active, positive countries. They went in those days, not like the later days in India when we did become a passive, inert country, tied down by caste and do not cross the seas and do not touch this man and do not see that man—that type of country we developed—our people went on adventures. They went all over the south eastern seas. They established colonies. They established, not imperialist colonies, but independent colonies. In fact the effect of India all over the south eastern region was tremendous. You see it today. So also was the effect of China there. So these two great big powerful countries were constantly meeting and yet there was no conflict. It is a remarkable fact of history. Certainly nowhere in Europe will you find such a thing or, for the matter of that, in Asia.

Now it seemed to me that in the future it would be a tragedy not only for India, and possibly for China, but for Asia and the world if we develop some kind of permanent hostility. Naturally friendship does not exist if you are weak and if you are looked down upon as a weak country. Friendship cannot exist between the weak and the strong, between a country that is trying to bully and

the other who accepts to be bullied. Whether it is an individual or a group or a country that does not happen. It is only when people are more or less equal, when people respect each other that they are friends. So also nations. But subject to that we did work for the friendship of India and China. May I say that in spite of all that has happened and is happening today, that is still our objective and we shall continue to work for it. That does not mean that we should surrender in anything that we consider right or that we should hand over bits of territory of India to China to please them. That is not the way to be friends with anybody or to maintain our dignity or self-respect. But, in the long run, it is of importance for these two great countries, whatever their internal structures and politics might be, to be friends.

I know that, sometimes, it is difficult to feel friendly when one hears things that irritate, that anger, when we see that our people have not been treated even courteously, when we receive communications from the Chinese Government, which are singularly lacking in even ordinary politeness. All that is irritating. But, then, it is easy enough for anyone to get angry and irritated. It is necessary for people who hold responsible positions not to allow themselves to be irritated, certainly to maintain the dignity of the country and the continuity of our policy too.

Many people charge us: "What about your famous Panchsheel, where are those five principles; dead and gone and buried or cremated?" Call it whatever you like. That indicates a completely wrong approach to this question. What is Panchsheel? Panchsheel or the five principles—they did not become principles because they were embodied in a treaty between India and China—they stand by themselves, principles of international relationship which we hold to be correct and we shall hold to them even if all the world says "no" to them. Of course, it is obvious that if the other party does not agree to them, that relationship does not subsist. The principles remain true all the same. When people are wise enough, they come back to them. Therefore, there is no question of Panchsheel failing. It may be, if you like, the question of India failing or China failing. But, the principles remain. This is the outlook.

If you will permit me to go slightly outside the purview of this Resolution, we have to face certain difficult situations on our borders and elsewhere: the treatment accorded to our people in Tibet by the Chinese authorities. I may inform the House that the first thing that I do every morning is to open a bunch of telegrams, a pretty big bunch. I should imagine that in every bunch there are at least five or six dealing with this affair either from Peking or Lhasa or Gyantse or Yatung, just the latest happenings,



the latest developments. Of course, the telegrams we get from Gyantse, Yatung and Lhasa cannot tell us about the happenings in Tibet, because they have no communication with the rest of Tibet. They can only see more or less round about the Consulate or the trade agency and tell us what are the happenings today. There are petty problems arising. Almost every morning, usually, at least, I start the day not in a too pleasant mood, because of these messages. I try to overcome that. I am getting accustomed to some extent to do that.

We have got to deal with these difficult problems, these border incidents. If anyone asks me, as they sometimes do, what do the border incidents indicate, frankly, I do not know what might be in the minds of the other party: whether it is just local aggressiveness or just to show us our place, if I may use a colloquial phrase, so that we may not get uppish, or whether it is something deeper. I do not know.

I might inform the House that only last evening, we received a fairly long reply from the Chinese Government.<sup>89</sup> That is a reply to the protest I had sent a few days ago about these incidents on the North East Frontier border. It is a fairly long reply. It will, naturally, require very careful consideration. But, broadly speaking, the reply is a repudiation of our charge that they had come on our territory that they had started firing on our patrol there and charging us with having come on their territory and having opened fire on them; that is, complete conflict in the facts, reversal of the facts here.

An Hon. Member: Reversal of the MacMahon Line.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Of course, we shall examine that reply carefully because it is a long and more or less argued note, with lots of places mentioned and other things. And we shall send them a reply fairly soon, that is, in the next two or three days.

May I also repeat what I said here that before this House rises in this session, I hope to place a White Paper before the House containing correspondence between the Chinese Government and our Government ever since the treaty between India and China in regard to Tibet, that is, during the last five years, so that the House may have the background of what has been happening?

Now, all this is there. We have, on the one hand, naturally to protect our borders. And when I say that, I want to hold myself, and somewhat restrain my

89. See Appendix 2, pp. 304-307.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

powerful reactions so as not to go too far, in let us say, military measures and the like; because, when nations get excited and all their prestige is involved, then, step by step, they are driven often in wrong directions. So, we try, at any rate, to balance, balance in the sense of a firm policy where we think we are in the right, nevertheless, with always a door open to accommodation, a door open to a settlement, wherever this is possible.

Broadly speaking, in regard to this border, that is, the border incidents, as I have just mentioned, they say that we have committed aggression. Now, it is a question of fact, whether this village or that village or this little strip of territory is on their side or on our side. Normally, wherever these are relatively petty disputes, well, it does seem to me rather absurd for two great countries or two small countries immediately to rush at each other's throat and to decide whether two miles of territory are on this side or on that side, and especially, two miles of territory in the high mountains, where nobody lives. But where national prestige and dignity is involved, it is not the two miles of territory, it is the nation's dignity and self-respect that become involved in it. And, therefore, this happens. But I do not wish, in so far as I can, to press the issue so far that there is no escape for either country, because their national dignities are involved, except a recourse to arms. That is not, I hope...

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: What is the boundary, according to the latest report? What is the boundary which they have indicated, according to the latest reply that we have received from them?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: How can I say that without a large map, all kinds of little things about villages and all that? The present dispute about that matter is relatively a small matter: whether it may be two miles this side or that side is not a very big thing; but I do not know what their map is, here, there and elsewhere. So far as I am concerned, I have often stated how our frontier from the Burma border right up to the Bhutan border is the MacMahon Line; we hold by that.

Shri Achar:<sup>90</sup> Do they...

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Please allow me to continue. Please do not attach too much importance to what appears in the newspapers. I speak with a little greater authority on this subject.

90. Congress, MP from Mangalore, Mysore.



That is the MacMahon Line, and we hold by it, and we think it is highly objectionable highly improper for the Chinese Government to go on issuing maps colouring half of the North Eastern Frontier Agency, one-third of Assam and one-third of Bhutan as if they belong to China. That is really an affront. I can understand something happening for a little while, and some mistake; but a continuing thing, to be told year after year for ten years that 'Oh, well, we shall look into it when we have leisure' is not a good enough answer. That is so.

But having accepted broadly the MacMahon Line, I am prepared to discuss any interpretation of the MacMahon line, minor interpretation here and there—that is a different matter—not these big chunks but the minor interpretation whether this hill is there or this little bit is on that side or this side, on the facts, on the maps, on the evidence available. That I am prepared to discuss with the Chinese Government. I am prepared to have any kind of conciliatory, mediatory process to consider this. I am prepared to have arbitration of any authority agreed to by the two parties about those minor rectifications, where they are challenged by them or by us, whichever the case may be. That is a different matter. I say this because I do not take up that kind of narrow attitude that whatever I say is right and whatever the other person says is wrong. But the broad MacMahon Line has to be accepted and so far as we are concerned, it is there and we accept it.

The position about Ladakh is somewhat different. The MacMahon Line does not go there. That is governed by ancient treaties over a hundred years old between the then ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was a feudatory of the Sikh ruler of the Punjab at the time—this was in the thirties of the 19th century—on the one side, there was the treaty of 1842 and on the other side, the ruler of Lhasa and the representative of the Emperor of China, which resulted in Ladakh being recognised as a part of Kashmir State.

Now, nobody has challenged that. Nobody challenges it now. But the actual boundary of Ladakh with Tibet was not very carefully defined. It was defined to some extent by British officers who went there. But I rather doubt if they did any careful survey. They marked the line. It has been marked all along in our maps. They did it. As people do not live there, by and large, it does not make any difference. It did not make any difference. At that time, nobody cared about it.

Now, the question arose. We are prepared to sit down and discuss those minor things. But discuss it on what terms? First, treaties, existing maps etc. Secondly, usage, what has been the usage all these years. Thirdly geography. By geography, I mean physical features like water-sheds, ridge of a mountain, not a bit of plain divided up. Those are convenient features for international boundaries.

I have gone out of my way to refer to these various matters in connection with this Resolution which deals with a simpler issue. Coming back to this particular Resolution, quite apart from the sympathy which the hon. Mover and some other hon. Members feel for the Tibetans, if we take an action, it should be justifiable in law and in constitution and we should hope for some results, some results which will help us to achieve the objective aimed at.

Looking at it from the point of view of justification, the United Nations may come into the picture for two reasons. One is, violation of human rights and the other, aggression. Now, violation of human rights applies to those who have accepted the Charter of the United Nations, in other words, those members of the United Nations who have accepted the Charter. Strictly speaking, you cannot apply the Charter to people who have not accepted the Charter, who have not been allowed to come into the United Nations.

Secondly, if you talk about aggression, aggression is by one sovereign independent State on another. As I told you, in so far as world affairs are concerned, Tibet has not been acknowledged as an independent State for a considerable time, even long before this happened—much less after. Therefore, it is difficult to justify aggression.

Now, you may say that these may be rather legal please. But I am merely pointing out a constitutional aspect of and the difficulties and the procedures involved.

Then, I come to a certain practical aspect. And that is what good will it achieve? Suppose we get over the legal quibbles and legal difficulties. It may lead to a debate in the General Assembly or the Security Council wherever it is taken up, a debate which will be an acrimonious debate, an angry debate, a debate which will be after the fashion of cold war. Having had the debate what then will the promoters of that debate and that motion do? Nothing more. They will return home. After having brought matters to a higher temperature, fever heat, they will go home. They have done their duty because they can do nothing else.

Obviously, nobody is going to send an army to Tibet or China. If that was not done in the case of Hungary which is in the heart of Europe and which is more allied to European nations, it is fantastic to think they will move in that way in Tibet. Obviously not. So, all that will happen is an expression of strong opinion by some other countries denying it and the matter being raised to the level of cold war—brought into the domain of cold war—and probably producing reactions on the Chinese Government which are more adverse to Tibet and the Tibetan people than even now. So, the ultimate result is no relief to the Tibetan people but something the reverse of it.

The question, both from the constitutional and the legal point of view, is



not clear. In fact, persons who have examined it think that it is difficult to bring it there. And, from the practical point of view also there is no good result. Then, what exactly is the purpose of taking that subject, except maybe to satisfy some kind of urge to show sympathy or to show that we are angry. I can understand that urge certainly. But we must not allow the urge to take the reins into its hands and take us away with it to unknown regions and dangerous regions. Therefore, I am unable to accept this resolution and I would suggest to the House also not to accept it.

### **98. In the Rajya Sabha: Disabled Tibetan Refugees<sup>91</sup>**

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj:<sup>92</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Tibetan refugees in India who are physically handicapped; and
- (b) whether any special arrangements have been made by Government to rehabilitate the disabled refugees?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) According to our information there are 42 physically handicapped Tibetan refugees in our camps.

(b) Yes, Sir. We are considering a proposal to make special arrangements for these disabled refugees in Bombay under the supervision of the All India Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation.<sup>93</sup> The World Veterans Federation has offered to finance this scheme.<sup>94</sup>

### **99. To K. Ram: Rest House for Tibetan Refugees<sup>95</sup>**

I had looked upon this proposal really as a kind of a resting house or sarai for Tibetans and other Buddhists from our north-east frontier who come here. They have no place to stay and they cannot easily mix with others. The addition, a kind of prayer room, library, was made for their convenience. It was not the

91. On 8 September 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Written Answers, Vol. XXVI, col. 3229.

92. Congress, MP from Bombay.

93. Set up in 1959.

94. Founded in 1950; based in Paris.

95. Note, 12 September 1959. File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS.

prayer room or the temple that was the important thing. I felt, however, that if we had such a place for Tibetans to stay, it would be a good idea. At any time it would have been good, but owing to recent developments and a large number of Tibetans who have sought asylum here, it became a little more important.

2. I realise the difficulty of Government providing money for a temple as such. That would not be a good precedent. It might be that Government could provide the money for the quarters and library etc. and a separate private fund may be raised for the temple. I do not quite know how this will be separated in financial terms. You might enquire from the WH&S people to give us a rough estimate of this division.

3. Meanwhile, this matter might stay till the Finance Minister comes back and we can discuss it then. The land that has been earmarked for this should continue to be kept in reserve.

4. A copy of this note might be sent to the Finance Ministry.

## 100. To M.C. Setalvad: International Committee on Tibet<sup>96</sup>

September 24, 1959

My dear Setalvad,

I have just received your letter of the 21st September about the activities of the Committee on Tibet established by the International Jurists' Commission.<sup>97</sup> I shall certainly meet Shawcross when he comes to India.<sup>98</sup> I have not met in this connection Purushottam Tricumdas, but he has seen our Foreign Secretary more than once and discussed this matter.

You know that our relations with the Chinese Government are very strained and they have accused us practically of organising the rebellion in Tibet and of

96. Letter to M.C. Setalvad, Attorney General of India.

97. The Legal Inquiry Committee of the International Commission of Jurists, set up under Tricumdas, on 29 August 1959, issued its report *Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic* in Geneva in July 1960. It noted: "Tibet was at the very least a de facto independent State when the Agreement on Peaceful Measures was signed in 1951....In 1950 there was a people and a territory, and a government which functioned in that territory, conducting its own domestic affairs free from outside authority. From 1913 to 1950 foreign relations in Tibet were conducted exclusively by the Government of Tibet and countries with whom Tibet had foreign relations are shown by official documents to have treated Tibet in practice as an independent State." See the official website of the International Commission of Jurists <http://www.icj.org/category/news/press-releases/page/93/> (accessed on 28 February 2013).

98. Sir Hartley Shawcross, Member of the Legal Enquiry Committee on Tibet.



continuing to encourage it. This is a fantastic accusation. But there it is, and we have to be rather careful about all our steps. As you yourself say, we cannot associate ourselves even remotely with the work of this Committee on Tibet.

I do not understand how any kind of proper enquiry can be held in the circumstances that prevail here. Obviously, the Chinese Government will not permit the Committee to go to Tibet. The enquiry, therefore, will be confined to refugees from Tibet. Normally, refugees are not good witnesses. They are much too excited and personally involved to be able to give any correct account. So far as these Tibetan refugees are concerned, I have found that the situation is even worse, and their idea as to what is fact and what is not is very vague indeed. Every vague rumour is stated as a fact, and there is no means of verification. Nearly all the refugees in India came away from Tibet in the early days of the rebellion there. They have no personal knowledge of subsequent happenings except vague rumours that may have reached them. An extraordinary statement has been made by some of these refugees, that the Chinese are deliberately sterilizing the Tibetans. I am wholly unable to find any justification for this.

If Purushottam Tricumdas wishes to see me, I shall of course meet him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Nepal

#### 101. To Raja Mahendra Pratap: Indian Personnel at Nepalese Borders<sup>99</sup>

September 11, 1959

Dear Raja Sahib,<sup>100</sup>

Your letter of the 10th September. Some Nepalese border posts were manned by Indian trained personnel (not soldiers), at the request of the Nepalese Government.<sup>101</sup> The idea was that they should train Nepalese in wireless and other work which was essential. We have no desire to keep them, but as we

99. Raja Mahendra Pratap Papers, File No. 207, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

100. Raja Mahendra Pratap, Independent, MP from Mathura, UP.

101. The Indo-Nepali treaty of 1950 provided for check posts on the Indo-Nepal border to be manned by Indian personnel.

have been asked to keep them till the training of Nepalese is completed, they will be removed as soon as that happens. We are acting in accordance with the wishes of the present Nepalese Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) **Bhutan**

**102. To S. Dutt: Bhutanese Refugees in India<sup>102</sup>**

Have you enquired about the matter referred to in the attached letter?<sup>103</sup>

2. I spoke to the Chief Minister of Assam about it. He did not then know about the arrest of these people, but he told me that these Bhutanese had come to him. They come from that small area which was previously in India and was handed over by us to Bhutan some years ago. They complained of the heavy extractions made by the Bhutan Government and expressed their desire to come and settle down in India.

**103. To Jigme Dorji Wangchuk: Development Projects and Foreign Policy<sup>104</sup>**

29th September, 1959

Your Highness,

Many thanks for your letter which you sent me with our Political Officer, Shri Apa Pant. I received it a few days before the arrival of your delegation in Delhi.<sup>105</sup> We were very happy to receive your Prime Minister and the other members of

102. Note, 29 September 1959.

103. Hem Barua wrote to Nehru on 24 September 1959 about the arrest of some Bhutanese in Indian territory.

104. Letter to Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, Maharaja of Bhutan.

105. On 18 September 1959 Jigme Dorji visited New Delhi and negotiated an agreement with GOI for finances and other help to construct all-weather roads between West Bengal and Bhutan, from Jalgaon to Thimpu and Paro, the two Bhutanese capitals, and for training and equipment for the army of Bhutan. He also secured an extra annual grant of Rs. 7 lakh from 1960 onward in addition to the annual subsidy of Rs. 5 lakhs. See *The Hindustan Times*, 19 September 1959.



the delegation.

2. As Shri Jigme Dorji<sup>106</sup> must have reported to you, we have had full discussions with the delegation on various matters of mutual interest to India and Bhutan. In particular, my Ministry has discussed with your Prime Minister the road project which you have mentioned in your letter and the question of development schemes in your territory. Our Foreign Secretary has already informed Shri Jigme Dorji that the Government of India will be glad to assist Bhutan in the implementation of the particular road project which you have mentioned in your letter and to find the necessary finance for that purpose. The construction of this road through a very difficult terrain will be a challenge to our engineers and, if I may say so, to your people without whose assistance the project cannot be implemented. I am, however, confident that all difficulties will be overcome and that this vital road link—the first between Bhutan and India—will be completed with the minimum possible delay. This single project will engage for some years all available technical man-power; but I have no doubt that once this scheme is completed, it will be easy, with the experience available, to undertake other similar projects.

3. We have also informed your Prime Minister that the Government of India will be glad to make available to your Government a sum of Rs. 7 lakhs a year for other development schemes within Bhutan. I hope that your Government will now go ahead with suitable schemes which will bring immediate benefit to the people.

4. I am informed that there is not likely to be any difficulty in the supply of your requirements of arms and ammunition.

5. I had the opportunity of several talks with Shri Jigme Dorji during his stay in Delhi. We discussed the present difficult situation in Tibet, and the international situation generally. We are passing through a difficult time, but both Bhutan and India will have to face their common problems with calm and determination. As I mentioned to you in my earlier letter, we shall regard any threat to the integrity of Bhutan as a challenge to the integrity of India herself. I know that you and your people are determined to protect your frontiers. If you need any assistance, please do not hesitate to let us know.

6. In the course of my talks with your Prime Minister, Shri Jigme Dorji, reference was made to a proposal that Bhutan should establish contacts with various foreign countries. I discussed this matter at considerable length with your Prime Minister and explained my views to him. I have also written to him on this subject so as to prevent any misunderstanding. It does seem to us that

106. Prime Minister of Bhutan.

the proposal for Bhutan to establish contacts with other foreign countries is likely to lead to far-reaching and dangerous consequences affecting the freedom and integrity of Bhutan. Instead, therefore, of giving further assurance to Bhutan for the preservation of her security, it may have a contrary effect. More particularly because of the existing situation on our border areas and the difficulties that have arisen between India and China, any such step would lead to fresh problems and difficulties as well as dangers. I shall not, however, deal with this matter more fully in this letter as I have explained our position to Shri Jigme Dorji fully.

I hope Your Highnesses are in good health.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **104. To Jigme Palden Dorji: Foreign Relations of Bhutan<sup>107</sup>**

September 29, 1959

Dear Shri Jigme Dorji,

You were good enough to write to me a letter without date some time ago while you were still in Delhi. I am sorry for the delay in answering it. I have been out of Delhi and I returned only this morning.

2. In your letter you say that I have given you an "assurance that the Government of India would not stand in the way if His Highness the Druk Gyalpo and the people of Bhutan desired to establish contact with other foreign countries". I am afraid you have misunderstood me and I should like to make the position clear in so far as the Government of India is concerned.

3. Our dealings with His Highness and the Government of Bhutan have always been of a friendly and cooperative kind. As you know, we have never at any time interfered in the slightest with the internal autonomy of Bhutan. There was a proposal some time ago that the Government of India might have a representative in Bhutan to facilitate our friendly contacts. But the Government of Bhutan at that time did not appear to be agreeable to this proposal. Thereafter we gave up this suggestion because we did not wish to do anything which was not approved of by the Government of Bhutan. Our attitude thus has been throughout not to interfere in any way with internal affairs in Bhutan and to

107. Letter.



pay due regard to the wishes of His Highness and the Government of Bhutan. That indeed was laid down in our treaty with Bhutan and we scrupulously adhere to it.

4. The proposal that you made about His Highness establishing contacts with other foreign countries was, however, of a far-reaching character which went much beyond our treaty and the existing state of our relations. Apart from this, it involved consequences of a very serious nature which I pointed out to you at some length. These consequences were not only of concern to us directly in India, but even more we were concerned at their effect on the security and internal independence of Bhutan itself. Recent developments in Tibet and on our borders have emphasised the need not only for vigilance but for great caution with regard to any step that might be taken.

5. I pointed all this out to you in the course of our long talk. I certainly said that it was not our desire to enforce our wishes on the Bhutan Government. But any such step as contemplated would have grave consequences. I felt sure that if these aspects were brought to the notice of His Highness and the Government of Bhutan, they would appreciate our views in this matter.

6. As you know, we have stated publicly in Parliament and elsewhere that we are responsible for the defence of Bhutan in case of aggression and that any attack on Bhutan would be considered by us as equivalent to an attack on India.<sup>108</sup> This is a far-reaching commitment the consequences of which will be clear to you. In the event of any country invading or committing aggression on Bhutan, this would involve a possibility of war with India. We are a peaceful country totally opposed to war. That has been our international policy which has been appreciated abroad even by countries which do not agree with us in many matters. For us, therefore, to commit ourselves to the possibility of a major military conflict was no small matter. But we considered this commitment necessary because of our earnest desire to protect Bhutan from any such invasion or incursion. No foreign country can, in these circumstances, commit aggression on Bhutan without taking the risk of a war with India. Bhutan was thus kept out of the jungle of international politics and the cold war.

7. The position is likely to change entirely if the Bhutan Government develops direct contacts with foreign countries. Such contacts cannot be limited to one or two countries if once they are begun. They would have to be extended not only to far off countries but to nearby countries also. In view of her peculiar

108. On 25 August 1959 Nehru told the Rajya Sabha, "I cannot imagine any foreign authority doing anything which is an infringement of their sovereignty. In any event, any such infringement would be an infringement of our undertakings with Sikkim and Bhutan." See SWJN/SS/51/item 187.

geographical position Bhutan could thus become a centre of the cold war with all the disastrous consequences that might flow from this. The security of Bhutan would be endangered far more than it is today. No far off countries would be in a position to give any effective help in protecting Bhutan from any external danger. That danger would itself become much greater because of this entry of Bhutan into what is called the cold war region. Thus, in fact, dangers to Bhutan would be intensified without any additional security to Bhutan. The geographical position of Bhutan itself would prevent any help to Bhutan except by India or through India. We are entirely opposed to any foreign troops coming to India or passing through India. The position of India, therefore, would become extraordinarily embarrassing because we do not wish to become agents of the cold war.

8. If attempts at contact with foreign countries are made, it is clear that those attempts will have to include China and the establishment of foreign Missions within Bhutan will inevitably lead to all kinds of internal pressures being exercised on the Government of Bhutan. Gradually this might lead to difficult situations and even the border with Tibet might not be safe. So far as India is concerned, her position vis-a-vis Bhutan will necessarily change.

9. This was my general appraisal of the consequences of the proposal made. This would have applied at any time. In the present tense state of affairs on the borders with Tibet, this has a particular and special significance. I have no doubt whatever that should effect be given to your proposal, the doors will be opened to all kinds of developments, internal and external, harmful to the security and even freedom of Bhutan. Anything endangering Bhutan's freedom and security would have a powerful effect on India. But, even apart from that, the main question remains as to the dangers that Bhutan would have to confront in that event.

10. Thus, instead of gaining additional security by such contacts, in effect they would result in endangering existing security and freedom. I am sure that it cannot be His Highness's desire to take any step which may have such harmful consequences on the freedom and integrity of Bhutan. A broad international result of any such step in present circumstances would be a feeling that Bhutan was, on the one hand, seeking to ensure her security by establishing direct contacts with other foreign countries and on the other hand trying to appease China by direct diplomatic relations if not by an exchange of diplomatic representatives. It is likely that China herself would welcome such direct contact but would that give Bhutan greater assurance of security? What the Chinese Government would like would be to isolate Bhutan from India so that it can deal with Bhutan separately. They know very well that the only country that counts in so far as Bhutan's defence is concerned is India and the biggest Powers



elsewhere can do little. Therefore, the Chinese Government would welcome anything that weakens the ties of Bhutan with India and opens the door to them to come into the picture. Gradually the door will be opened wider and it will become very difficult for Bhutan then to resist pressure from China. No external Powers, however great they may be, will be able to give any effective help.

11. I have briefly repeated in this letter what I told you in the course of our conversation. I consider the proposal for the establishment of external contacts by the Bhutan Government as dangerous in the extreme from the point of view of Bhutan itself and I cannot imagine how such a dangerous step can be taken by His Highness or his Government who are so anxious to preserve the freedom and integrity of their country. Such a step would appear to the world naturally as a step against India and our own relations would be affected thereby. More particularly, in the present context of world affairs as well as of the difficulties we are facing on our north-eastern borders, it would be something which the Government of India can only view with the greatest regret.

12. I am sorry if any misunderstanding arose in your mind about my talk with you. I thought I had explained this position adequately, I have always said, as I do now, that we do not wish to compel Bhutan in any way. I have been sorry to find that you have referred to this matter in your talks with press correspondents and others intimating that we were agreeable to Bhutan establishing contacts with foreign countries. That has given a wrong impression and these press correspondents have been surprised at this and have come to us to ask what the position was. Naturally we cannot deal with this matter in public.

13. I have, however, taken the liberty to write to you fully and frankly on this subject because it is necessary that there should be no further misunderstanding about it. I thought of writing directly to His Highness and dealing with this subject in my letter to him. Indeed I had mentioned this to you. But on reconsideration I am not discussing this matter fully in my letter to him although I have briefly referred to it. That letter is in reply to what His Highness was good enough to write to me. I have, however, added to it that I have had full talks with you about this subject and that you will no doubt convey our views to him. You may, if you like, show His Highness this letter.

14. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to His Highness which is being sent through our representative at Gangtok.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Laos

**105. To Defence Ministry: Visit of Indian Navy Vessel to Laos<sup>109</sup>**

I am reluctant to recommend this visit of an I.N. ship to Phnom Penh. Normally such a visit would certainly be desirable, but the situation in Indo-China, more especially Laos, has deteriorated badly. There is already some kind of a civil war going on in Laos, and there is a possibility of this struggle spreading and some Great Powers being involved. This will mean warships and others crowding those seas. This, of course, does not directly affect Cambodia, but the area of operations is nearby, and I would not like any possible incident to occur which might embarrass us.

2. This is my main reason for postponing this visit now. A lesser reason is saving in foreign exchange.

**106. To Pham Van Dong: Ending Conflict<sup>110</sup>**

I thank Your Excellency for your letter of 8th August on the Laotian situation, sent through our Consul-General in Hanoi, which reached me today.<sup>111</sup> I have also received Your Excellency's telegram of 7th September on the same subject and the verbal message sent through our Consul-General in Hanoi on 9th September.

Your Excellency is aware of the repeated efforts made by us, during the last four months, to get the Laos situation dealt with within the framework of the Geneva Agreement. Our efforts in this direction have failed and the matter is being dealt with by the Security Council of which India is not a member.

Apart from our great interest as Chairman country of the three Indo-China Commissions, Government of India are keenly interested in the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia as well as in other parts of the world and deplore the tension and conflict in Laos. We will continue our efforts towards a cessation

109. Note, 8 September 1959.

110. Telegram to Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of North Vietnam, 11 September 1959. File No. 1701 (1)-SD/59, Vol. VIII, p. 72/corr., MEA.

111. See Appendix 1, p. 303.



of conflict and easing of tension but, at the present stage, we do not see what more we can do.

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

### **107. To Pham Van Dong: Ending Conflict<sup>112</sup>**

I thank Your Excellency for your letter of 19th September on the situation in Laos. We have done all we could, as Chairman country of the Commission, for the settlement of the difficulties in Laos in the interest of maintaining peace in Laos and Indo-China. The matter is now before the U.N. Security Council and before the two Co-Chairmen who are Permanent Members of the Security Council<sup>113</sup> and we can only express the hope that necessary steps will be taken to stop the fighting in Laos and to restore peace.

Jawaharlal Nehru

### **(g) Afghanistan and Iran Tour**

### **108. In Kabul: Science and Human Development<sup>114</sup>**

Your Highness,<sup>115</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have referred, Sir, in very kind words to me and to my country, and you began your speech this evening by references to your visit to India, that visit is very fresh in our minds. We felt not only honoured by your coming to India, and in welcoming you as the Head of the Government of this country, but we felt something more than that, as you have yourself hinted at. We felt that we are welcoming certainly of a friend but something even more than a friend one who was near to us and whose country was near to us in mind and heart. And I am happy that you carried away that impression from our country. Now, that I

112. Telegram, 29 September 1959.

113. UK and USSR.

114. Speech at the banquet given in his honor, Kabul, 14 September 1959. Nehru was in Afghanistan from 14 to 17 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

115. King Mohammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan.

am here in Afghanistan, a very old wish of mine has been fulfilled and I feel as you said about India I have not come to a strange country or a strange people, but one among whom I feel perfectly at home, for a variety of reasons, we may refer and it would be right for us to think of the contacts between our two countries which go back to thousands of years. There have been conflicts during these years but in the main they have been contacts, contacts of the mind, of the hearts, contacts cultural and other which are sometimes even more enduring than physical or political contacts. So we have this long heritage to bind us and to cheer us and to help us in the future. And that heritage counts a great deal but after all something more is necessary than a heritage, something in the present, something union draws us together and in these last 13 years or so of the independence of India, when we became free again to develop contacts with other countries, to pick up old threads, which had been broken for many years, inevitably we thought of Afghanistan our neighbour and our old friend, and inevitably we felt very friendly to her. And as the time passed we discovered to our pleasure and satisfaction that in this world that was developing before us and before you, Sir, we had much in common in our broad outlook, in our policies, in the way we looked at other countries, that again became a bond. It is true, that each country has its own problems, and each country has to find the solution of its own problems by its own efforts, sometimes helped by other countries, sometimes often in co-operation with other countries, but ultimately by its own efforts. And so our problems and Afghanistan's problems are often different but also there are many common problems and certainly the broad approach, I believe, is common.

We attained political freedom and independence and that is essential for a country without which a country cannot progress. But the moment we attained political freedom and even before that we realised that that is not enough. It is not enough to have political freedom and unhappiness, misery and poverty in a country. To have an underdeveloped country, when people cannot have even the necessities of life, and so immediately the great problems that faced us was how to raise the enormous number of human beings that live in our country, four hundred million, how to raise them, how to better their standards, how to give them the sensation of freedom which can only come, when economic freedom is tagged on to political freedom. Now, that was a very great problem for us as it is for you. Sir, in your country as it is for various countries in Asia and Africa and may be elsewhere, who are politically free but underdeveloped. We have tried to face this problem in our own way. Other countries have faced that problem in their way. And it is right that each country should find its own way. It may be with the cooperation of others, but essentially by itself. It is not right for even a good way to be imposed upon one by someone else. It is not



right for any country to impose its will, even if that will is goodwill on some other country. With individual as with a nation its growth comes from within, imposed growth is not growth, it is imposition. And so our various countries have tried to go their own way, although the objective was not so different. Sometimes it differed too. We have had in India as you may know, Sir, what we call five year plans. There is no, there is no five year limit in a nation's life. The nation goes on from day to day, year to year, century to century, but for the sake of convenience, we divide time up like this, so that we can have definite objectives and target and find out how far we have achieved those targets. This means hard work. Hard work not for the people in the Government, that of course, but hard work for the millions and millions of people in a country. Because when one wants to bring about great social and economic changes, it is the people who must carry the burden not merely a Government. No Government can do without the help and cooperation of the people and the hard work.

So, all these underdeveloped countries in Asia and Africa in their different stages of growth and with their different problems face basically the problem of getting rid of this underdevelopment, of this backwardness, and giving the good things of life to their people. In our struggle for freedom as you know, Sir, we had a strange leader. He was no great ruler, he was no great General or man of war. He was, well, only word I can think of it, he was some kind of a faquir who discarded the world, so far as he himself was concerned, he had no property, and this man the strange leader conquered India's heart and mind. Perhaps, he conquered India's mind and heart, because he represented in himself that old mind and heart much more than the people who sat on the thrones in the country. And so I would have you remember this new heritage of ours that we gave. We do not think of ourselves in terms of force, in terms of wealth, we are a poor country. We are not militarily strong although naturally we want to protect our country from many dangers external or internal. Nevertheless, we have something that we value and that something was embodied in the message of Mahatma Gandhi. I know very well that we who have followed him are very unworthy followers and we have not been able to live up to his teachings or message, but even so something of what he said and taught us endures and it pulls us up when we make mistakes and chides us also when we err and I suppose this message will always influence India in the future, whatever that future might be for us. And so we stand as many other countries stand in the world today at the threshold of great changes. So does the world. And in every country there are all kinds of conflicts within its mind and soul, conflicts between the past which has conditioned that country, conflicts with the present and the future. Because while the past is valuable, is precious and we must hold to it, it



is not by itself enough in the world today. The world today is one of science. The world today is of technology, the world today is of many new things, and unless we understand and master these new things, we remain poor and backward and perhaps we cannot even defend our freedom and our independence. So we must think of those. And therefore, we have to find some kind of a synthesis of this past which is previous and of this present and future which are so necessary. Without one of them, without either of them we are incomplete, we have to have both and that is the struggle which goes on in every country, in the minds and souls of people. Sometimes they realise it sometime they do not, but whether they realise it or not, it is there. And if they stick to the past forgetting the present and future, they are lost, and if they forget their past and think only of this present and future, they are equally lost, because they have lost their roots and how will a country grow, how will a tree grow which is rootless. Thus we face not only one revolution out perhaps a multitude of revolutions, and we have to meet their challenge fairly soon, lest they overwhelm us.

We face this challenge of poverty and we realise that poverty cannot be ended without understanding and using the knowledge and power of science. There is no other way. Science, as we know, has today given enormous powers to man, and sometimes that power is being used for good, sometimes for evil. And no one knows whether the future will cease use for good only or perhaps for evil also. And now there is this big change from the olden days, when also power was used for good or ill, that today that power is so mighty that the use for evil may destroy the world, and give no other chance. That is the terrible problem that faces us. We may call it, if you like, the struggle for peace in the world. Peace may be considered an absence of war but that is not peace. Peace is something deeper than that, and sometimes we hear a great deal of talk of peace in words and actions of war, in gestures of war. People talk of peace, and they look as if they are going to have a war, they are prepared for war. Then again, there is this curious contradiction in this world today, all the world wants peace and the great parts of the world consistently prepare for war and takes the risk of war. Long years ago, hundred years, 150 years or more the industrial revolution came to the Western world, and after much pain and travail, that revolution helped the Western world to raise the standards of his people very greatly to raise its power.

Now, today many people in the Eastern countries of Asia as well as Africa are trying to do the same thing in their way, are trying to bring about the industrial revolution. We cannot wait for a hundred years to do it, because other things happen, and so we have to try hard to bring it about in a much shorter time. But, however short it may, it takes time because it is not something imposed from above. It has to grow from people and the people have to grow into it and while



we do this, this other tremendous revolution is coming in the world, the nuclear revolution representing new power, new dangers. So we have to face both at the same time, and behind all these remains the eternal question of the human being. This is a human being, just a play-thing of the industrial revolution or the nuclear revolution, just something to be sent to war to be killed and to kill or it is something nobler than that and so we have to face this challenge of the age, and think also in ethical terms, in moral terms, otherwise the human being for whom we work, ceases to be human. What than do we work for, for machines? You will forgive me, Sir, for referring to these matters. I am not quite sure if they are keeping with this occasion, but we are meeting as friends and so I thought that some of the ideas that fill my mind and trouble it might find utterance. Meanwhile, we carry the day's burden and face the day's problems, and try to do as best as we can. Sometimes a measure of success comes to us, sometimes failure comes. That is all in the day's work. We have to go on, and perhaps if there was a not occasional failure, we would become too proud, too conceited and thereby fail. But even as we carry on the day's work, I hope we all remember, we always remember the basic ideas for which we strive, and for which humanity should strive, because it is no longer possible for humanity or for individual nations to think in terms of conflict, to think in terms of war, to think in terms of hatred and violence. We have had enough of them, and we, and the world has suffered enough from them. So we must develop, try to develop other and more peaceful ways, not only of action but of thought and behaviour.

The world is full of tension, full of fear and where there is a fear, hatred and violence creep in. At the same time, there are many bright things in the world, hopeful things that make us optimistic. Among them one very recent development to which you were pleased to refer. One of these hopeful turns which may result in good things is the coming tomorrow of the meeting of two great Heads of Nations, President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. Let us not expect too much from it that will be wrong, doing them wrong and doing our own intelligence wrong. But the fact is that this meeting at this stage is or would have seemed very remarkable even a year ago or even less. The mere fact that these meetings are taking place, indicate certain powerful trend in the world represented by these two great leaders. We should not be complacent; there are great dangers ahead, but we can certainly take heart from these trends and in our own small way, try to help them.

We in India have followed international affairs, a policy or what is called non-alignment that is not associating ourselves with military pacts but seeking the friendship of all countries even though we may not agree with their policies. That I believe, Sir, is the policy of Afghanistan also. And that brings us together,

one of the additional matters that bring us together. You referred, Sir, to the Bandung Conference, that seems rather long ago, but it is good to remember it because it did give a lead to those countries which went there, countries of Asia and Africa, and even though sometimes that lesson is forgotten, nevertheless, the lesson was a good one and we have to remember it.

I do not think, that the world's problems are going to be solved by war and therefore; I do not think, that a solution, can be helped by war-like alliances. It is not for me to criticise any country that has those alliances, because it is for each country to judge what is good for it, but for our part we are convinced as I believe you, Sir, are convinced in your country that the best way to serve our countries and because of world peace is to keep away from military alliances and follow a policy of non-alignment. We can seek the friendship of all countries.

Your Royal Highness, I express my deep gratitude to you, to your Government and the people of this country.

### **109. In Kabul: Ancient Heritage of Indo-Afghanistan<sup>116</sup>**

**"BIG OVATION TO MR. NEHRU: Civic Reception in Kabul"**

KABUL, September 16.

ABOUT 40,000 citizens of Kabul today gave Mr. Nehru thunderous ovation as he replied to a civic address presented to him by the Mayor of the capital of Afghanistan.

As he appeared at the pavilion of Gazi Stadium, the people who had packed its stands lustily cheered him and large numbers rushed forward to the grounds to take a closer view of the Indian leader.

Mr. Nehru's references to the resumption of centuries-old ties of friendship between the two countries after India's achievement of freedom and consolidation of its independence by Afghanistan, and to the need of the people of both the countries to toil hard to preserve their liberty through industrial advance and united efforts were particularly marked by prolonged applause.

The Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Sardar Mohammed Daud Khan, was present.

116. Report of speech at the civic reception in Kabul, 16 September 1959. From *The Times of India*, 17 September 1959.



### “MATTER OF JOY”

In his welcome address, the Mayor, Mr. Mohammed Siddiq, said it was a matter of joy that the friendly relations between the two countries were being strengthened day by day on the basis of mutual respect, mutual trust and mutual understanding.

Mr. Nehru's 40 minute speech in Hindustani was translated into Persian after every few sentences.

Earlier, he was presented with a casket of light green marble.

Mr. Nehru warned Afghans that unless Asian and African people caught up with Western countries in technological progress their freedom would again be in jeopardy.

### ANCIENT HERITAGE

The ancient heritage of countries like Afghanistan and India was great and they should no doubt preserve all that was good in it, but at the same time they should adapt themselves to the changing times and take to new avenues of human uplift thrown open by science, he added.

This necessitated the maintenance of world peace, Mr. Nehru said. India did not wish to participate in any war, and he was sure that the Government and people of Afghanistan too desired peace all over the world.

It was true that much depended upon the United States and the Soviet Union, two powerful nations, Mr. Nehru said. The leaders of the two countries were now having talks India wished, and he was sure Afghanistan also wished, that the talks would produce results which would be conducive to the establishment of peace.

### WORLD PROBLEMS

He said that perhaps all the problems of the world would not be solved immediately, but at least some progress would be made towards that end.

Mr. Nehru said that during his brief stay he had seen that the seeds of new Afghanistan had been sown and they were growing into plants. He was sure they would further grow into trees whose protective shade would shield the people of the country.

“I have seen in the buoyant faces of children and boys the spark of the new spirit and self-confidence, and I think new Afghanistan is in safe and worthy hands,” he said.

In the morning, Mr. Nehru attended a reception given in his honour by Mr.

Nauroz, President of the National Assembly of Afghanistan and of the Indo-Afghan Society. Later, Mr. Nehru visited the Jabrulsiraj cement factory and the Gulbahar textile mills. In the afternoon, he held a reception in honour of the Afghan Prime Minister Sardar Mohammed Daud.

## 110. In Kabul: Indo-Afghan Joint Statement<sup>117</sup>

“Promotion of Mutual Trust: Indo-Afghan Premiers’ Joint Statement”

KABUL, September 18. IN a joint statement at the conclusion of their talks, the Prime Ministers of India and Afghanistan said last night that they had agreed that, the existing cordial relations between the two countries “should be sustained and enlarged by increased cultural cooperation and promotion of mutual trust.”

They said that the policy of non-alignment which the two countries had adopted and actively pursued and their similarity of outlook on many matters of world importance had “strengthened and given further content and reality to a relationship forced by history and traditional contacts through centuries.”

Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Daud expressed the wish that the meeting between the Soviet Premier and the U. S. President “will promote mutual understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as well as assist in the lessening of world tension and pave the way for the progressive solution of grave problems that continue to pose a threat to the future of the world and of mankind.”

### AFGHAN INVITATION

The statement said: At the invitation of the Government of Afghanistan, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, paid a visit to Afghanistan lasting from September 14 to 18.

During his stay in Kabul, he was received by His Majesty the King and called on the Prime Minister, Sardar Mohammad Daud.

The King had visited India in February, 1958, and the Prime Minister a year later.

The present visit of the Prime Minister of India to Afghanistan thus afforded a welcome opportunity for strengthening friendly associations earlier made and for further exchange of views and impressions on current developments in the international situation as well as on matters of mutual interest.

117. Report of statement, 18 September 1959. From *The Times of India*, 19 September 1959.



These talks, at which the Deputy Prime Minister and acting Foreign Minister of Afghanistan also took part, were held in an atmosphere of complete cordiality and understanding reflecting the traditional friendship and affinity between the two countries.

In a joint statement issued at the conclusion of the visit of the King of Afghanistan to India in February, 1958, hope was expressed that the meeting at high level, in which would participate, more particularly, the U.S. and U.S.S.R., would be held to consider international tensions and problems of war and peace. It must be a matter of universal gratification that events are moving towards the realisation of that hope. The recent announcement of exchange of visits between Mr. Eisenhower and of Mr. Khrushchev is a happy augury and at this moment, when Mr. Khrushchev has begun his visit to the United States, the two Prime Ministers take pleasure in expressing the wish that this far-sighted action of the leaders of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. will promote mutual understanding between these countries as well as assist in lessening world tensions and pave the way for the progressive solution of grave problems that continue to pose a threat to the future of world and mankind.

While reaffirming the responsibility of the Disarmament Commission, the Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the step which had been taken to break the deadlock in the disarmament discussions by the appointment of a ten-power disarmament committee. They also noted with satisfaction the announcement of early resumption of the work of 'conference on discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests.' While welcoming these and other favourable trends that were manifesting themselves in the international scene, the Prime Ministers could not but be conscious of the existence of some international disputes and tensions and they reiterated their firm conviction that all international disputes should, in the interests of world peace and humanity, be settled by peaceful means alone and not through resort to arms.

#### NON-ALIGNMENT

The Prime Ministers declared their full sympathy and continued support for the aspirations of peoples still under colonial rule and for their efforts to attain their independence. Independence alone can ensure for these peoples opportunities for self-development and progress as well as conditions of national equality which provide the fundamental basis for the promotion of peace among nations. It is a matter of continuing satisfaction to the Prime Ministers that the relations between their two countries remain of the friendliest character. The policy of non-alignment, which the two countries have adopted and actively pursued and their similarity of outlook on many matters of world importance,

have strengthened and given further content and reality to the relationship forged by history and traditional contacts through the centuries. The Prime Ministers agreed that these cordial relations should be sustained and enlarged by increased cultural cooperation and promotion of mutual trade.

The Prime Minister of India expressed his appreciation and gratitude for the warm and cordial reception which the Government and people of Afghanistan alike had accorded him. The goodwill that exists between the peoples of the two countries, of which the welcome given to the Prime Minister of India was a clear demonstration, is the surest guarantee of enduring relations between the two countries.

### **111. In Tehran: Industrial Revolution and Challenges of the Nuclear Age<sup>118</sup>**

Mr Prime Minister, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
I am very grateful to you, Mr Prime Minister, for your kind words and to your warm welcome and hospitality. I do not know how long ago it was since when I wanted to come to Iran but some kind of an evil fate pursued me in this matter and I could not come; and so now that I am here I feel as one feels when a long expressed desire, a long felt wish is fulfilled.

You have referred Sir, to the old historical associations of Iran and India. I doubt if there are any two countries in the wide world which have that close and long past historical contact such as Iran and India. It goes back to the remote past. Often, languages are symbols of contacts of peoples and it is well known that the ancient form of Persian language, Pahlavi, and the ancient form of Sanskrit which is our classical language are very nearly the same. There was some difference but not much. In fact our classical Sanskrit is more different from the earlier Sanskrit than that Sanskrit from Pahlavi. That itself indicates the common stock out of which the two languages arose and the common stock out of which the two peoples arose and there could have been no closer contact than that common origin. This was maintained in later years in spite of troubles, difficulties, wars and invasions. For many hundreds of years in India the Persian language was the court language, besides other contacts between Iran and India. So, it is perfectly true to say that no two countries in long terms of years could have had those close contacts, closer origin, than the people of India and the

118. Speech at the Banquet given by Manuchehr Eghbal, Prime Minister of Iran, 18 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.



people of Iran.

It is true that during later years fate put us apart, as also many other countries of Asia. When our country was under foreign rule and foreign domination in some form or other came to the other countries of Asia, or most of them, the old contacts that we had with each other broke or fell into disuse. It is odd that our contacts then were more, if I may say so, through Europe than direct. But ever since we have attained independence in India, and many other countries of Asia have also done so, almost the first urge was to rebuild those old contacts to find again the old ties. And so naturally we in India look towards Iran as we also look towards other neighbour countries, I am therefore happy to be here.

It is well to remember these old contacts and to look at our history in some perspective because perhaps that gives us a little clearer picture than if we were swept away by momentary feelings and reactions due to present events. Nevertheless it is true that traditional civilisations, such as that of India, such as that of Iran, have had to face, and are facing today, very grave problems, problems which are not often mentioned in the newspapers or even in public speeches. The newspapers discuss some crisis of the day which may be important for the moment no doubt; but the basic crisis of the day, I should imagine, for a country with its traditional outlook and civilisation and contacts with the long past is its reactions to the present. How does it react to the present, the non-traditional present, the present largely based on science and technology which is creating a new world different from the old, in other countries of Europe? That is the real challenge.

The other countries of Europe have passed through one revolution; I am referring to the industrial revolution, which is a bigger revolution than a political revolution, can ever be; and because of the past industrial revolution some of the countries of Europe have built up a fairly high standard of living, wealth, production and all that and think in terms of what they call a welfare state. They define it in various ways. But there is a common feature and the most important feature is that they had accepted the industrial revolution and then brought about enormous changes. Now broadly speaking, the countries that have not gone through the industrial revolution are underdeveloped and poverty-stricken. The masses are poor. Nobody in the world wants to be poor today (though men have wanted it in the past) because today people feel that it is not necessary to be poor (previously it was perhaps inevitable) because of science and technology and with all the means to create a welfare state for all people. So this is the problem for all our countries; and while we think in terms of our industrial revolution that is having something in our country which took place in Europe a 100 years ago or more. Another bigger revolution has come to Europe and America that is the revolution of the nuclear age. I am not for the

moment talking in terms of war, I am merely talking in terms of that energy and power which has been placed in the hands of humanity for good or for evil. So that we in the countries of Asia desiring to better our lot have to face this double challenge of a double revolution and there is no getting away from it. It is not really a choice that is offered, there is no choice in such matters in the world. People may imagine that they choose but the world, chooses, and we are conditioned to go a certain way or we fail.

So when thinking of the yesterdays, of our past, Mr. Prime Minister, and taking pride in that great past which is that of your country and which is of mine when we had close contacts, we have inevitably to come to the present and peep into the future for which we work and labour and I trust that in that present and in that future we shall also work together for the good of our countries, for the good of our peoples and thus the contacts of the past will have to be renewed and freshened and new contacts built for the present and the future.

I thank you again, Mr. Prime Minister, for your warm words of welcome. May I ask you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen to drink to the good health of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah and His Excellency the Prime Minister and the prosperity of the people of Iran.

## **112. In Tehran: Cultural Contacts with Iran Revisited<sup>119</sup>**

Mr Minister,<sup>120</sup> Madame Sadr, Mr. Prime Minister,<sup>121</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I confess I have been taken by surprise. I did not know that our host was going to make a speech and propose a toast so I have had to do some rapid thinking in the last minute and a half.

It would be easy to speak about a subject near to our hearts and minds, namely, the old and intimate relations between India and Iran, specially our cultural contacts, but many of you may feel that this subject is being overdone, necessary and important as it is for us to remember it. A very eminent art critic

119. Nehru's reply to the toast proposed by the Foreign Minister of Iran to the health of President Rajendra Prasad and the progress and prosperity of the people of India at a Banquet given in his honour in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, 19 September 1959. M-2/I, JNMF.

120. Abbas Aram.

121. Manuchehr Eghbal.



once described the Taj Mahal of Agra as "the soul of Iran incarnate in the body of India." It shows how the two cultures intermingled. But my mind is more taken up with the present and the future because I am still, like most of you, living a life of action. The time may come when I may retire and become a Professor at a University, I doubt it, but even then I would not be concerned about the visions of the past. The Professors' view is unaffected by what is happening or might happen, unlike the politicians. I have to think very much of the present and the future.

Already I realise that I am somewhat advanced in age. It surprises me, but it is true. In this period of my life I have seen many changes in India, Asia, Europe and the world. And I wonder what the next 25 or 30 years might bring, because the pace of change is becoming quicker and quicker. No one is forcing the pace, but the conditions and circumstances themselves change. Europe was changed most by the industrial age. Now Asia is undergoing that process. More than that, in the next 20 or 30 years, nuclear energy will produce greater changes for the moment, I forget the war like effects of nuclear energy and remember only its peaceful purposes. We must therefore see that my country, and if I may say so, your country, are not left behind again like we were left behind in the past. Therefore, we have to think more and more of the present and the future. Sometimes I indulge in reveries of the past because I have no responsibility for it. The thought of the present and the future, sometimes brings feelings of pleasure as well as pain; but when we think of Iran and India, let us hope that our future relations will be pleasant and even pleasanter, as those of the past and the present. I request you, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glasses to the health of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah and to the peace and prosperity of the people of Iran.

### 113. At Tehran University: Science and Technology<sup>122</sup>

Mr Chancellor<sup>123</sup> and distinguished members of the University,  
You have honoured me greatly by conferring this degree, this honorary degree of your university, on me and thus making me one of your brotherhood—a graduate and member of this university; and in a sense thus a participant in the great heritage which your university represents and also, if I may say so, a colleague of yours in the present. I do honour that very much because this

122. Speech on receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the University of Tehran, 20 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

123. Ahmad Farhad.

university, though not so old in terms of years, obviously represents a very ancient tradition of learning and scholarship and it is indeed a high privilege for anyone to be associated with this long tradition and to be associated with men and women who represent it in the present age.

I thank you for it. You have referred, Sir Mr Chancellor, in your opening remarks to the long association of Iran and India in the distant past, to our basic common values of life which had enriched our culture in the past and showed us the path to duty. I have no doubt that those values have not only served us in the past but if we adhere to them should serve us in the present and the future. In the world today, about which I shall say something a little later there is something which sometimes appears to be lacking and that is adherence to certain basic values and standards of life. It is important therefore that we who have been privileged to inherit in our traditions these values should remember them, should adhere to them and should conform to them. May I also say, Mr Chancellor, that I entirely reciprocate your views about our mutual exchanges in the realm of learning, knowledge and scholarship? I entirely agree with you that in India we should cultivate, even more than we are doing at present. The great language of Iran, which no doubt is a language of Iran but which also became a part of our national life and culture for hundreds of years and, therefore, if you will permit us to say we may claim it to be partly ours also.

Mr Chancellor, I have said how I value those basic standards which I believe our ancient cultures have represented and which made our countries great in the past. And yet your university today, and our universities, while preserving and enriching those past traditions and values, has also to deal with the present age and the problems of today; otherwise a university would become some kind of an ivory tower, separate, apart from the life of the nation and of the people. University must necessarily be the repository of the ancient wisdom. Indeed all that we are today, whether here or anywhere in the world, we are what the past ages have made us. We have been conditioned not only in our present lives, but for generations past, by our ancient traditions and, therefore, we cannot ignore that past. We must not only acknowledge it but profit by it and remember it. Nevertheless, we live in the present and we have to solve the problems of today and, therefore, a university must give guidance to the people in regard to the solution of today's problems.

Looking back in some perspective of history and not looking too far back, let us say looking back about two hundred and fifty years, at the beginning of the 18th century, we find, broadly speaking, that the countries of Asia and the countries of Europe, if they were compared, the countries of Asia would have been found to be more advanced in many ways. Apart from cultural accomplishments even in certain other things like science, like industry, it might



be said that Asia, some countries of Asia, were relatively more advanced. Speaking of my own country, I can say that when foreigners came to my country, they came to profit by our fine manufactures, not to bring their manufactures—that was to come later. And India at that time, early in the 18th century, was a manufacturing country not the modern industry, but the manufacturing country producing fine products; so that about the beginning of the 18th century there was no basic difference in regard to industry or science visible as between Europe and Asia. Of course, countries have their national characteristics—some are better in something and some in others. Then began a change in this relationship of Asia and Europe. Previously, for a very long time, it might be said almost that Europe was an extension of Asia and it was Asia that rather over-shadowed Europe in the long perspective of history. But gradually changes came and those changes, although they must have been growing for some time past, these changes came into evidence in the 18th century. By the middle of the 18th century, they were quite evident and by the end of the 18th century, they had made Europe dominant in many ways over Asia. And in the 19th century, Europe practically controlled Asia. Now what happened? Why did this change take place? What did we lack which Europe possessed? To some extent, it is obvious what the change was, because in Europe, during these years in the 18th century specially, came science and technology new methods of doing things, new sources of power, new technologies, new techniques which gave strength and power to Europe, to some countries of Western Europe. They became strong in arms and they became strong even in technology and scientific thinking. And as that science and technology advanced, the difference between Europe and Asia became bigger and bigger. The difference between the power of Europe and the weakness of Asia became more marked and because of that power, some of the countries of Western Europe began to dominate over Asia in various ways, and over Africa. In Asia, in some countries like mine, they dominated directly and ruled it. In some countries they dominated indirectly, but everywhere, almost, there was this domination of a powerful Western Europe over an Asia which had become weak and that Asia had become weak because it could not keep pace in terms of science and technology because it did not use the new sources of power which Europe had got. There were no sources of power, coal and the use of iron and coal—which brought strength to England first and then to other countries of Western Europe and then to America.

Now it will be an interesting line of thought as to why Asia which had been dominant in thought and even in many branches of science in the past suddenly lost that lead and became, if I may use the word, rather stagnant in these respects in its thought. Was it due to too much what I would call traditionalism, to a belief that they had achieved what they could achieve and there was nothing

more to achieve, or was it due to some other factor I do not know? But the fact is that this gap in power and in wealth between Europe and Asia became very evident and because of that power and because of the domination of Asia by Europe this gap widened. For the moment I shall speak of India and India represents, in that sense, the countries of Asia also. Even the capacity for progressing was denied to us, to a large extent, because there was a shock, not only of a foreign conquest but foreign imposition—in many ways the shock of a foreign culture. That was a shock and, sometimes, a shock is good for a country. It weakened us, it shook us. But there is also something that is inherent in a colonial regime, i.e., the discouragement of real progress even though something may happen. So that throughout this period of the 19th century, while Europe and America were advancing fast, becoming wealthier and more powerful because of more advance in science and technology, the countries of Asia remained more or less static; of course, not quite static because nobody can be quite static except the dead. There were changes, there were effects but small and the gap between the two became bigger, the gap between the rich countries growing richer and the poor countries growing poorer became bigger and bigger. That was the case throughout the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th.

Other things came then and in recent years the countries of Asia attained their independence, having long struggled for it; and having attained that independence they naturally want to bridge that gap which separates them from Europe and America in terms of wealth, in terms of capacity to advance, in terms of happiness for their people and because they feel that that gap can only be bridged by developing science and technology and we see everywhere an attempt to that effect being made. There are some aspects of this which I should like to bring forward because science and technology has changed so many things that they have made the texture of life different.

We all know we live, whether we are industrialised or not, whether we are scientific or not, we live in an age of science and technology; we travel by air, by train, by car and we communicate in various ways which were unknown previously. Even if one takes one single aspect of knowledge, say communications, it is just amazing how the world has changed in the last two or three hundred years. If you go back two hundred years, I imagine that the means of communication, whether personal transport or sending of a communication, was much the same two hundred years ago as it was 2,000 years ago. There was no great change. Probably the fastest way you could travel was by a swift horse and the fastest way of sending a message might have been that also. So the world remained steady for 2,000 years or more in that sense. Suddenly something comes in and all manner of new developments



take place. Every year we dig in something new, something new happens and now today almost every month you see some new improvement. We take for granted, travel by steamship or travel by using electric power, or the telephone, the telegraph, the wireless or the radar, and now new electronic devices of controlling things in mysterious ways. We take them for granted even though we do not understand them. So all this changes the textures of human life and unless we master this we remain behind and cannot progress. Therefore, we have to remember that science and technology are not something outside the texture of our lives, something just to be given to experts to manage and to produce the goods we desire. They are something more intimate. They change us; they change us as individuals, they change us as social groups, they change, ultimately, the political, economic and social structure of the community. You cannot separate them.

Wealth has come to Europe because of the development of industry. Industry has developed because of science and technology. On the other hand, science and technology have developed because of industry. There is such a thing as pure science and applied science and pure science is necessary i.e. the search for science, search for truth's sake. Even though it may have no immediate bearing on benefiting you or humanity but out of it some benefits may come later. Then there is applied science which affects directly industry and the wealth producing capacity of a community. Now you can see the tremendous changes that have happened; say in Europe in the last hundred years, even fifty years. I remember myself fifty years. I can see those changes. You can see the changes that have happened in your own country, or in other countries of Asia. Although those changes that have happened in Iran or India are partly, if I may use the word, "imposed" changes, not self-grown, they are partly self-grown, partly imbibed, partly if I may use the word, copied from the West. For instance, if we use, let us say, an automobile—we have not produced it, we use it—any fool can use an automobile—it does not require an inventor to use an automobile; but the man who invented the automobile is a great man, is an inventor. Any engine driver can drive an engine; he is not a wise man or a great man. It required genius to produce the engine. So we become imitators of certain technical devices or scientific ways which others have invented. But no country can really progress by imitating unless it has that genius to produce things and to take advantage of other's inventions of course. But we cannot advance in industry or science by mere imitation.

Again, as we have seen in Europe, and we see now in Asia, great change is coming in the political field, in the social and economic fields and I want you to appreciate that you cannot have science or industry or technology separated from your normal life. It is a part of life and it affects life in the most intimate

ways because there is nothing more revolutionary ultimately than science. We, talk about revolutions—the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Russian Revolution and so on. But the biggest revolution of all has always been the scientific revolution, the technological revolution which has changed life on this planet. Even today, there are arguments—and the arguments are valid—about communism, Socialism and anti-Communism and capitalism and all that. They are important arguments but the fact of the matter is that they are secondary. The real difference today in the world is between a highly industrialised society based on science and technology and societies which are not industrialised. That is the real difference. The other countries may argue about ideologies and they may use or misuse ideologies. That is important for us no doubt. But we have to remember that the real difference is between the highly industrialised countries and those countries that are not industrialised. Whether the highly industrialised countries are capitalist or Communist makes a difference, but fundamentally they are in the same boat because they are highly industrialised and they have the resources of science and technology at their disposal. Therefore, they have much more in common between them, than highly industrialised communities, and the community that is not industrialised or scientific. And it may well be that the highly industrialised communities they forget their quarrels and make common cause. But what will happen to those countries that are not so industrialised? The fact is that as a country is industrialised it becomes more and more capable of progress. As the country adopts newer scientific techniques, its power to increase the pace of progress becomes more and more. That is to say that the industrialised countries are richer countries. The richer countries get more and more rich and the poorer countries even though they may make progress, the gap between them and the others increases.

World War ended fourteen years ago. It is interesting to see what has happened since this War ended. The countries that were absolutely destroyed by the War—Germany, Western Russia, partly England, not so much Japan—look at these countries—in ten years time Germany which was utterly destroyed rises from the ashes and becomes a great industrial and scientific power as great as it was or even greater than it was in spite of its division. It is extraordinary the capacity of the German people to advance and to make good; but it is not Germany alone, Japan has done the same. Out of the ashes it has risen again and Russia has done the same. Russia suffered terribly during the war. And yet Russia is making good also. The factor of making good—what is it? It is neither Communism nor anything else. It is scientific and industrial base and trained human beings and hard work because hard work is necessary whatever one wants. So that these countries whatever their ideologies and policies might



have been had one common factor i.e. an industrial base i.e. science, that is technology and that is a large number of trained human-beings. It is man—the trained human being—that creates everything including the machine, including wealth. Germany had them and so she built a power, so did some other countries. While in ten years these countries have built themselves up and become richer than ever. Even England had great shocks; England lost her Empire after the War. Nevertheless, England is richer today than she has even been, because England is scientifically and industrially an advanced country. She can make good any losses. As for the United States, they are known to be the richest country in the world and even these great Wars which were a great burden to them and in spite of the tremendous amount of money that they shower on other countries yet they have in abundance and they do not know what to do with the abundance, with their colossal capacity for production. On the other hand in ten or twelve or fifteen years, our countries—my country and many others—have been struggling hard to advance, working hard and making progress, no doubt, and I think sometimes very commendable progress; but the fact remains that the progress is relatively slow because we have to start, if not from scratch, somewhere from low down the scale, because we had to pull ourselves out from a certain traditional way of life which is allied to old methods and the old methods are allied to poverty and scarcity.

The Countries like England or the United States of America, of course, or France or Germany or the Soviet Union have passed that stage whatever their ideologies might be. They have passed that stage in industrial production and in science and therefore their production increases by leaps and bounds—in giant strides. In science we see these wonderful achievements—in the Soviet Union and in the United States—tremendous achievements about inter-space travel. They may be of no great significance to us today. But they represent tremendous sources of energy and it is energy that has made the world progress, whether it was coal at first, or electricity, or oil or use of oil or whatever other forms one. They have given power and introduced new techniques so that we see today a fact pretty well-known in history that the rich get richer and the poor poorer. The rich countries become richer, normally speaking, relatively speaking, and the poor countries either get poorer or remain where they were unless steps are taken to prevent that.

This applies also to the human individual. The rich man has the capacity to get richer, the poor man can seldom pull himself out of his poverty. It is very difficult. Once you get rich you get richer and richer. You have got the means to get richer. Inside a country also, you will see that a region which is more prosperous gets more and more prosperous, a region which is less prosperous finds it difficult to get out of it. So differences increase, dissimilarities come in

between nation and nation; in the nation, between one region and another; between one individual and another. War, all that occurs and if one looks at the present structure of the world and allows the normal forces of nature, of the market place, to function without any interference there is no doubt at all that the rich nations of the world will become enormously richer and more powerful and the other nations will slowly creep on and the distance between them and the richer nation will become ever greater, because the rich nations have greater resources for scientific research, for scientific progress and greater power which nobody else can afford. At the present moment in fact one may say that some aspects of real scientific advance, in some ways, are practically being confined to two or three nations because other nations have got those resources. Certainly, the two colossuses are America and the Soviet Union, you may include England, you may include France if you like, but not in the same grade. So these differences become greater their power becomes greater. I said all this happens if you leave matters to change, to the forces of nature to the market place—international or national. But modern society does not leave things to the market place; it interferes, Governments interfere to balance this; otherwise the poor will be swept away by the rich, the poor countries by the rich countries and the poor groups and individuals by the richer groups. Every country interferes and tries to balance these things and to some extent succeeds.

Now, as a person, working in India, I have constantly the problems of India before me. I realise that the problems of each country are different from others. It is very unsafe to draw analogies between one country and another country. Nevertheless, there are certain common features which apply to underdeveloped countries as there are certain common features which apply to developed countries. Leaving out the last few years four-five-six-seven-eight if you like, we have taken our economics largely from the western countries—England, France, and America. All the economics of America or England are based on industrialised societies. Naturally, they based them on their own society, they solve problems of their own and those economics have little relevance to underdeveloped country. It is only recently that the countries have realised, specially underdeveloped countries, that they have to build up their own economic theories to apply to their own country and not copy either America or England or the Soviet Union. We just cannot copy. We can learn from other countries but we have to deal with our own problems and find out our own economic theories to deal with them fearlessly and not being afraid of discussing these matters fully and openly.

The problems of the underdeveloped countries are peculiar. You do not get any parallel example of them if you go back to European history, because in Europe and in America the process of change took one fifty years or so, a long



period and there was one very marked feature attached to it and that was that economic revolution came to Europe before a real political revolution came. Political changes came but when I say real political revolution I am not talking about revolutions at the top,—Kings changing, parliaments changing, these are not revolutions. The real political revolution I am talking about comes when power goes down by adult suffrage or some means to the mass of the people. That did not come even to England or Africa till quite recent times; so that the economic revolution came to America and to England long before the real political revolution vesting the power in the masses. When the political revolution came, America certainly, and England too, had built up economic power previously, and so they could meet the demands of the political revolution.

Now in a country like India this process has been reversed. We get a full-blooded political revolution. We give power in its entirety to the people. Every man and woman, adult man and woman, has a vote, whether he is literate or illiterate whether he is a saint or a sinner, whether he lives in a forest, whether he is from a primitive tribe or not. Every man has a vote. It is taking a chance no doubt; we took it, we felt there is no alternative and we took it and I am glad we took it. But the point is this: the people of a country get full political power, in the democratic sense; they become politically conscious, they make political demands and the demands are good; but we have no capacity to fulfill those demands because the economic revolution has not come yet. The result is that great conflicts arise, great problems arise. We have to gain economic power, we have to gain economic resources; that takes time. We work hard, it takes time; and always when the political revolution has preceded, the demands of that revolution are before us and unsettle the situation.

In Western Europe during a period of one fifty years they bettered their economic condition, they increased their resources and increased their resources by working their people terribly hard. Even at the beginning of the century twentieth century—if I remember rightly, many people in America many workers had to work for eleven hours a day which is unthinkable today—unthinkable even in an underdeveloped country. Today, I cannot ask anybody in India to work eleven hours a day. Eleven hours is a great deal but even eight hours is difficult. But in America, even a rich country like America, could do that then I do not know how much they work now, probably half of that. Probably, very soon in the United States with their abundance, they will only have four days work a week, three days holidays. New problems are arising for them, problems of leisure and how to utilise leisure, but that is a different matter. So while in the one hand we are suddenly impinged by our political revolution in this world today where economic advance has gone far ahead in some countries and where political demands are insistent. Our resources are limited and we have to work

very hard to increase those resources and to convince our people that those resources can only increase by their hard work. Anyhow we cannot wait for one hundred and fifty years as in the case of America, England or France for these changes to take place. Life is not so generous or lenient to people. Having been static or having been slow in movement in the past two hundred years we have to make up for it by going faster and if we do not, our problems will overwhelm us.

Looking back at the various stages of economic and scientific progress, there are countries which may be called hundred per cent traditional in their lives. There are practically no countries left like that. Probably the last country which was hundred per cent traditional, one of the last, was Tibet, completely cut off from the rest of the world, living a life of its own which they had lived one thousand or two thousand years ago. There, as we know, change has come with tremendous force and velocity. But broadly speaking, leaving that first stage out there are countries which are chiefly traditional but which are slowly changing—trying to change but still the basis of whose life is traditionalism. There are other countries which are trying to change faster, i.e. take science and technology so much so that they approaching what is called a take-off stage, i.e. take off from static economy to a dynamic economy. A dynamic economy means an economy which is self-realising, self-feeding, which grows with its own impetus. In a poor country the economy is static. You have to push it, push it always to get a move on, while in a country like America, which is a most advanced country, which is so dynamic that they can do any foolish thing and can still go on of its own impetus. They can make a hundred mistakes and yet they grow while we with our wisdom in India and other countries work our hardest and yet move slowly.

So, this is the great dividing line between the static and dynamic economy—when an economy becomes self-feeding, self-reliant. Of course, there is no hard and fast line. Gradually it becomes that. Now there are a few countries in the world today which have passed that stage which belong to the next stage i.e. dynamic economies accumulating wealth, spending it and progressing. Countries of Western Europe, America and of course the Soviet Union belong to that group which have passed that stage and long passed the take-off stage and are making good by accumulation more and more.

Ultimately, coming to the final stage (which America seems to be pretty near) of such colossal production that it has absolute abundance everywhere and does not know what to do with this abundance, and new problems arise there, new problems of leisure, new problems affecting the human-being personally, new problems to which neither politics nor economics can find an answer. If you want to find an answer, you come back, Mr. Chancellor, to what



you called "certain basic standards of life." People find that mere abundance of material things is not enough, something else has to be found, otherwise society goes to pieces, perhaps, your mind deteriorates, your body deteriorates, because of your being looked after too much. However, that is not a problem for Iran and India. It may be a problem for some other countries and that too somewhat later.

The question for us therefore, is that unless we get going and take off into or accept a path which leads us into a dynamic economy, we shall always remain relatively poor and therefore unhappy and all kinds of new problems will oppress because whatever our economy may be in no country are the people prepared to remain poor when they see people in other countries enjoying wealth or organising welfare states. Every individual naturally enquires in India why should I not have a good house, a good this and a good that and good work? Why? I can explain it, of course, but there is no adequate explanation, because people all over the world demand adequate living standards, some demand more. Therefore, there is a clash over this question. You cannot solve it unless the nation itself has taken off towards a dynamic economy and that dynamic economy is not a question, if I may say so, of putting up a factory here, a factory there, a hospital here or a school or a college there—colleges and schools are very good but something much more in line is necessary which enlivens millions of people. If it is education it means mass education, everybody to share it and not only everybody to share in that but an opportunity to every bright individual to go as far as he can. To say that everybody is equal is patently, I think, wrong. People are not equal in intelligence or worldly strength or the like. But to say that everybody must have equal opportunity is a valid truth today and we have to give that opportunity to go as far as his ability can take him. If again a country wants to advance in science, it has to have a background of science not a few scientists sitting in a university doing research work; it has to have hundreds of thousands of them.

I may give an instance from my country, because we have been tackling this problem there for the last many years. In working out our Third Five Year Plan, we came to the conclusion that we require three hundred thousand engineers for that plan, at the end of the Third Five Year Plan. We have been making good progress in engineers and I think we have got at present one hundred thousand engineers in our country, big or small. Still it is a problem for us in the next four or five years to produce two hundred thousand more engineers. It is a problem. It is not the question of doing things in a small way. Education has to spread and education has to spread not to men only but to women also because in this process of planning industrial development and scientific progress you cannot leave half the population out. And whether you



can or not, the forces that are working will not allow you to do that. In order to develop industrially you have to develop scientifically and you have to develop educationally and you have to develop, in fact, in all sectors helping each other. That is where planning comes, in trying to do it so that there is no waste of efforts, no waste of energy.

These and a multitude of other problems pursue us and they almost seem insuperable, because as I said the basic thing is that we have passed the world has passed, from an age of poverty to an age of wealth, from the age of scarcity to an age of plenty. We have not in India, perhaps you have not in Iran, but the Western world has passed from the age of scarcity to an age of plenty, although their economics are still based on the age of scarcity. That is an odd fact. Yet they still, more or less, think in terms of scarcity, although colossal production is coming in and wealth is pouring in. Anyhow, generally the people realise that they ought to have plenty, whether they get it or not is another matter. And we have to bridge this gap period somehow in the underdeveloped countries by developing them from the age of scarcity to the age of plenty. That cannot come suddenly; it takes time but one has to work and that requires a tremendous deal of thinking for each country, a tremendous deal of organisation and very high standards of administration. We have found in India that all the good ideals in the world are not good enough if they cannot be implemented properly, administratively, with speed, efficiency and integrity. These are the basic things obviously required by the country and these are some of the aspects of the problems that face us.

There are other problems, world problems, which of course, we share with others, the problems of war and peace. If there is war, all our planning goes to pieces, the world goes to pieces. In the old days, many of you will remember, the balance of power and all that, how nations balanced themselves in that way. Lately, it has given place to a new kind of balance, the balance of terror, the balance of terror of nuclear bombs and Hydrogen bombs, fear of war and yet the fear of our being submerged by an enemy suddenly. Practically it is living on the verge of terror and that is not good enough to live for long in the world. If one is forced to one cannot help it and so one has to find a way out and war is certainly not a way out. It is obvious and everybody recognises that in every country efforts are being made to find a way out. Let us hope they will succeed, not suddenly—it is not likely but gradually, take us out of international tension etc.—so that the resources of the world can be applied to the development of the under-developed areas of the world and make them dynamic in their economy and otherwise. Therefore, let us say in the words of an old savant “O, Blessed are the peace-makers wherever they may be.”

Now, Sir, I have ventured to put before you some things which trouble my



mind. I have no answers to the questions I have put to you because answers will only have to be found by trial and error and experience and often failure. But these are questions which universities certainly should think about and give guidance to the politicians and those who have to face these questions more intimately. But I realise, so there is no way of escaping that the same time I do realise that all the science and all the industry in the wide world may not be enough to save a nation or help a nation unless it follows certain basic standards and human values. How to find a synthesis between the two, is the great problem of the age and may our universities help in solving it. I thank you again, Mr. Chancellor, for the honour you have done to me.

#### **114. To the Indo-Iranian Association: Balancing Continuity and Change<sup>124</sup>**

Mr. President<sup>125</sup> and friends,

Our four day visit to Iran is coming to an end soon and this is, I believe, the last public function that we are attending, as we are leaving early tomorrow morning. I think that it is fitting that this last function should have been organised by this Indo-Iranian Society and should lay stress on past and present contacts and friendship between Iran and India. I am glad of that because to some extent perhaps this last function, and the purpose of it, emphasises an aspect which ought to be emphasised, and one may even say, for the purpose of which I came to Iran. I did not come to Iran to discuss any particular problem between India and Iran. I did not come here because we had any conflicts between the two countries, nor did I come here to discuss any other particular matter relating to trade or anything else. These matters are discussed from time to time by representatives of our governments. Why then did I come here? In the final analysis, I came here because of my desire to encourage and strengthen Indo-Iranian friendship, friendship between these two countries. I hope and believe that this real purpose of my visit, to which I have referred, has been served to some extent, served partly by the occasion of my coming here, but more specially by the kindness, hospitality and friendship that the people of Iran have shown to us, who have come to them as messengers of friendship and goodwill. That is so. And we have heard many sentiments to this effect during these four days. It is good to express proper sentiments, but it is better to implement those

124. Address to the Indo-Iranian Association, Tehran, 21 September 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

125. Matin Daftary.

sentiments and to think out how such sentiments can be implemented.

You, Sir, have just pointed out in your remarks about the necessity for implementing these sentiments. Among other things you have referred to the desirability of increasing the facilities for teaching the Persian language in India. May I say that I entirely agree with you that efforts to this end should be undertaken, because language is a very powerful bond between people. Of course one cannot expect the masses of any country to learn other languages. That is hardly feasible. But one can expect and try to provide for considerable numbers of people to learn other languages, and among the other languages more specially for India, the Pharsee [Farsi] language comes uppermost in mind, because it has influenced our own languages so much that it has become a part of the texture of our language. That is so and that should be done. And even though this can only apply naturally to a limited number of persons in the country, a limited number of intellectuals, intelligentsia, those interested in literature and the like, even so that kind of thing seeps down into the consciousness of the people, more specially because it is not something new that is coming but is a continuation of something old.

There is another way in which we want to encourage. One is the direct method of learning languages, our learning, our people learning the Persian language, your people learning our languages. The other way is more indirect, that special efforts should be made for translations of books from one language to the other. This reaches, ought to reach, a much wider circle of readers, and I think this should be done. Perhaps some of you know that I have the honour to be the President of what is called the Sahitya Akademi of India that is a national literary organisation, and we are specially interested in this work of translation from languages of other countries of famous books, into our various languages. We have done this in regard to a number of well known books from Persian and we shall continue it.

While agreeing with you Mr. President, in what you have said, I should like to point out a difficulty. Perhaps difficulty is not the right word, but nevertheless something that draws attention away from such normal contacts on the literary plane. Yesterday, at the University, I was speaking about a traditional society having to face the problems of the world today and how there are various stages observable among the nations of the world, various stages of traditional societies trying to adapt themselves to the new world of science and technology. Now I should imagine that Iran and India are two countries, which have been and to a large extent are powerfully traditional. Their roots are far past into history. Only today, a little while ago, I visited Shiraz and from there I went to Persepolis. At Shiraz, of course I was attracted by many things, and the name itself, Shiraz, had been familiar to me since I was



a little child. But above all it was known to me as the home of two famous poets, Sadi and Hafiz. That brought past to me. Then I went to Persepolis and saw those magnificent ruins of the tremendous period in Iran's past history. Such visits and such sites always fill my mind with the long perspectives of history, the ups and downs of empires and of peoples, and so my mind was full of that, and I saw, I realised, as I have realised often in India, how long is the tradition which has conditioned India and Iran, traditions rather as they affected these two countries separately. And therefore, I said that these two countries have very powerful traditions, and the more powerful the tradition, the more good it may do and the more harm it may also do.

That weight of long tradition is both good, sometimes a little bad. It is good because it gives richness to the culture of a nation, a community, an individual. It is bad if it becomes so pressing, so enveloping that it prevents change. It ties one up in a particular way and prevents change in a changing world. There are a multitude of factors happening in the world all the time. Sometimes the pace may be greater, sometimes slower. But basically one might say that there are two factors governing human society. One is the fact of continuity, and the other is the fact of change and apparently they are opposed to each other—continuity and change. If continuity breaks completely, then much of what a human society has gathered in the past is lost. So it is very harmful. If on the other hand, change is prevented by the fact of people sticking on to tradition and not accepting change, then that society becomes out of step with the changing world, because a basic factor in the world, whether it is the individual, or a social group or a nation or the world at large, is that of continuous change. Nothing is changeless in this world. I am not dealing with ultimates. I am dealing with human society as one sees it. One sees the individual changing, social organisms changing. And therefore a society has to fit in with the changing world, or else it falls back and there is danger of it becoming static or even decadent, because it does not change with the changing world. Therefore both are necessary, continuity and change. In fact they come whether one likes it or not. Even when great revolutions break up the continuity of a society, soon after the revolution, they try to go back to pick up the old threads of continuity of their national life, because if that continuity is broken completely a social organism becomes rootless. All its long roots in the past are dug out and there are no roots left, and the tendency would be for it to dry up, unless it recovers those roots. Therefore continuity is necessary and inevitably takes place. And equally necessary is change, because without change, gradually the life passes out of that living organism and it becomes too static.

I repeat, that India and Iran have been powerfully traditional minded, and both of these countries have to face the challenge of the present era of rapid

change, and rapid change not in the political field, that is a small field, but in the basic human field of living, changes brought about by all these tremendous scientific and technological discoveries which change our life, and not only change our life, change our politics, change our economics, change our social fabric, every problem is changed. And it is not the superficial of this that count. Europe and America represent today the highest development of technology. But, if I may be permitted to say, if we take, let us say anything of Europe, the food of Europe, the clothing of Europe, the other methods of Europe, these are superficial things. That is not which has made Europe great. It is Europe's thoughts that have made it great. It is Europe's or American inventiveness that has made it great, it is Europe's technology that has made Europe great, not the superficial things which are easy to copy. So it is this great challenge that we have to face and to adopt because there can be no doubt that if we do not keep in step with modern science and technology we become static and then that very tradition which is good for us, begins to smother us and prevents us from going ahead.

Because of this challenge of modern times we in India have to function in a way which is very different from the traditional way because we want to get out of the ruts in which we have been. And so our attention today is diverted to science, to producing tens of thousands of engineers, technicians and the like, to the new technology. And so while our students in the old days studied literature, Indian literature, other literatures, European literature, while they studied, they went to Europe, law and the like, today you will find thousands and thousands of Indian students going to foreign countries to study science, engineering, technology, techniques, and all that, and from all grades, not only in the universities but in the factories, to be good foremen, to work there. So because India's mind is largely directed towards capturing this new science, understanding it, these new techniques and technologies, so as to get into step with the modern world and to be able to meet others on an equal footing, because there is no equal footing if we are not advanced in science and technology, that is why I said now I come back after this long interlude, that is why I said to you, Mr. President, that there was a slight difficulty, the difficulty being people's minds being directed towards science and technology today and not so much to literary pursuits, though of course there are plenty of people who do carry on literary studies.

I hope that Iran and India will find the proper balance in this equation of continuity and change. I hope that they will be able to keep all that is the finest in their traditions and yet imbibe, adopt fully, the great changes that have been brought about by science and technology and thus step into the present and not merely live in the past. Both are necessary. I hope that will happen. It is not for



me to venture to advise anyone, or any country because I do believe that each country must think out its own problems itself. No other country can do that thinking for the other. During the past, far too much of our thinking of Asian problems was done by Europeans, Americans and the like. It was very good of them to do that, and sometimes, no doubt, we could profit by their thinking. But basically and fundamentally I think that however able they might be, they cannot be the right persons to find the key to our problems. The key can only be found by the people themselves, by their thinking profiting, of course, by other people's thinking. And therefore, I trust that both our countries will find the solution to these revolutionary problems that face our countries and the world today. But that will not be found by complacency, by avoiding the problems. The problems do not cease to exist because we do not think about them or talk about them and a problem that is long ignored of course remains and becomes bigger and may even become so big as to overwhelm the person who ignores that problem.

I hope you will forgive me, Mr President and friends, for my speaking to you perhaps more seriously than I should have done on such an occasion. Such occasions are meant to lay stress on friendship and good relations and contacts between our two countries. We agree about that. We can repeat those sentiments. But friendship itself demands that we should go down below the surface of things and not merely repeat superficialities, and therefore I have ventured to put before you some aspects of these problems that fill my mind. I hope you will forgive me.

I thank you, Mr President, again for your kind welcome and I wish this Society, Indo-Iranian Society, progress and success in the future, which means success in bringing our countries and our peoples ever nearer to one another. Thank you.

## 115. To Iranian Journalists: Indian Foreign Policy<sup>126</sup>

“Adherence to Policy of Non-Alignment”

Tehran

Sept. 22

Prime Minister Nehru to-day reiterated India's adherence to the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence in spite of what had happened in Tibet

126. Nehru's reply to questions on India's foreign policy by Iranian journalists, 22 September 1959. Report of a press conference, Tehran, 22 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 23 September 1959.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

and on the northern border with China recently. He, however, made it clear that India's anxiety to develop friendship with all countries did not mean "surrendering on any important matter because demands are made".

Mr Nehru was replying to questions on India's foreign policy by Iranian journalists at a thirty-minute Press conference held immediately before he left for Delhi after his eight-day tour of Iran and Afghanistan.

Mr Nehru did not agree that world events should be seen in terms of Communism and anti-Communism and said, it would be easier to understand the world situation if "we thought of States as such with their national rivalries with their attempts to expand".

Persian questions were rendered into English and Mr. Nehru's replies into Persian.

A correspondent asked if it was not curious that India should try to get China admitted into the United Nations in spite of recent happenings on India's northern border and Tibetan developments.

Mr Nehru said: "Our basic policy has been one of non-alignment, that is, not joining any military alliances, but trying to develop friendship with all countries. That does not mean surrendering on any important matter because demands are made. That policy will continue exactly, as before in spite of what has happened in Tibet or China."

Question: With all the happenings in North India and what has happened in Kerala, what is your opinion now regarding co-existence?

Mr. Nehru: It is exactly the same as it was, because the principle of co-existence is not affected by misuse of it or some people or some countries not acting upto it. The principle remains a principle. Truth remains truth whether another person utters lies or not. In this world to-day, there is no escape from co-existence except in co-slaughter. I put that as a positive statement. There is a choice between co-existence and co-destruction. There is nothing in between. There may be stages."

A correspondent said Mr. Nehru had stated that one should learn lessons from history, and asked why he had not paid attention to the last 15 years history of Iran. He said neutrality should not be adopted if Communism were to be fought.

## ATTITUDE TO COMMUNISM

Mr. Nehru: I don't understand the question because it is based on a complete



misunderstanding of our policy. We have not divided the world into Communist and anti-Communist. We think that is a simplification which has no relation to facts of life in the world to-day. It confuses the understanding of the situation. I am not a Communist—"I don't want communism in my country. I hope I am a realist. I don't get excited when a person says Communism. I don't get excited when a person says anti-communism. I refuse to get excited. I want to follow my own policy whatever others may do. That policy helps, ought to help in the preservation of peace which is an important factor and in the creation of an atmosphere of co-operation. Whether we succeed or not, God knows, I don't know. One tries to do best. But the right policy is not going about attacking other countries. It creates great excitement and no solution. That is why I welcome President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev meeting instead of attacking each other. It is better to meet in a friendly way than attack each other."

After this was translated into Persian, Mr. Nehru said "one thing I would add. There have been in the past and there are to-day national rivalries, States which are expansive want to expand. Now if we want to understand that position, it will be easier if we forget for a moment Communism and anti-Communism, although they are important and think of States as such with their rivalries, with their attempts to expand. They will give you a more real picture than this constant talk of Communism and anti-Communism and it just confuses the mind and makes one incapable of thinking."

A correspondent wanted to know Mr. Nehru's opinion about the CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation, Baghdad Pact's new name after Iraq went about of it). Mr. Nehru said: "I have always lived very far removed from it, from all pacts. I don't suppose change of names makes it any different from what it was".

A correspondent: Could you tell us what you discussed with His Imperial Majesty the Shah?

Mr. Nehru: "You will hardly expect me to broadcast the talks with him. Perhaps, it will not be proper to him or proper to me. All I can say is, we discussed many subjects."

#### Indo-Pakistan Relations

Question: Friendship between India and Pakistan is considered important from our point of view. May I ask what were the results of your discussions with the Pakistan President?

Mr. Nehru: Friendship between India and Pakistan is considered important by

us also and has so been considered in spite of problems and issues which were not solved between us and we work to that end. As for my talks with Gen. Ayub Khan—apart from the fact that I can't discuss such talks—really in those talks we did not discuss any particular matter but rather the desirability of solving our problems, with which I entirely agreed. The talks resulted in a better atmosphere between the two countries.

## 116. To Edwina Mountbatten: Visits to Afghanistan and Iran<sup>127</sup>

September 23, 1959

[My dear Edwina,]

Forgive me for sending you a typewritten letter. This is the only way I can manage it at present, and I do not wish to delay in writing to you. It is a long time since I wrote to you last. You were travelling in Canada and the U.S., and I have also been away in Afghanistan and Iran.

While I was in Kabul, I received your letter of September 11th and read your account of Dickie's<sup>128</sup> and your Odyssey across Canada and the U.S. My own travels were much more modest and in countries which are totally different from Canada and the U.S. I returned last evening from Tehran.

I decided rather suddenly to pay a visit to Afghanistan. Someone told me that the King and the Prime Minister there were rather hurt at my not visiting their country, which is almost a neighbour of India, although I have gone to far distant lands. The charge made had some force in it, and it did seem odd to me also that somehow I should have avoided going to Afghanistan, all these years. Perhaps it was too easy to go there and I thought such a visit could be fixed up at any time. Anyhow, I decided to go for four days.

As soon as this visit to Afghanistan was fixed up, I was pressed to extend it to Iran, and I agreed to do so. I was thus out of India just for eight or nine days. I am glad I went because it took me out of our narrow grooves and controversies here. Indira accompanied me, and I think both of us profited by this visit. It is true that in Kabul I managed to get a cold, for no obvious reason unless it was that I ate too many melons or swallowed too much dust. The result was that much of my time there was spent in sneezing and blowing my nose. Oddly enough, Kabul was really hot, almost as hot as Delhi at present. And so was Tehran. I was quite taken aback by this warm climate as I expected something

127. Letter to Edwina Mountbatten, Countess Mountbatten of Burma.

128. Lord Louis Mountbatten.



much cooler and pleasanter. In effect, both Kabul and Tehran managed to be a little more uncomfortable than Delhi as there were no fans there.

Nonetheless, we enjoyed our visits. I liked the Afghan people. Indeed, I manage to like most people I meet. The Afghans were very friendly and it was evident that they are making every effort to make some kind of progress in the modern sense. In many ways, they are rather primitive still, but some of the schools I visited, were good. And so were their efforts at community development. They have received a good deal of help from the Russians, and this has evidently not pleased the Americans at all, although a good many Americans are working in various ways in Afghanistan. The Russians have supplied them with modern arms to some extent and, for the first time, the Afghan Army can, I suppose, put up a fairly good show, if necessity arises. But, arms or no arms, Afghans will always be difficult to tackle by an enemy. They are tough and passionately attached to their freedom. Any invading force would be harassed by them all over their hills and valleys. There is not the least chance in the world of their being coerced by the Russians or the Americans. They may be won over to some extent by kindness.

But the best thing about Afghanistan was its fruit. I really do not remember having such good and luscious fruit anywhere in the world. There were lovely grapes and peaches and pears, but the most wonderful thing of all was their melon from the North of Afghanistan. I remembered the lament of Babar, the first Moghal Emperor of India, who, sitting in Delhi, wrote in his memoirs about the grapes and melons of Firghana which he missed so much in India. These delightful melons are in such tremendous abundance that, I was told, even their donkeys and other animals share in eating them, though I doubt if the donkeys really approve of them fully. Our visit was the occasion for an innovation in Afghanistan. At the big dinner parties, the women of the leading families participated unveiled. This was the first occasion they had done this, at any rate since Amanullah. The King and his Ministers want to encourage this going about without veils, but they are proceeding slowly. The King told me that he was all in favour of it, but they cannot forget the bitter experience they had had when Amanullah went ahead in a rush.

Iran was different in many ways. After the semi-nomadic inhabitants of Afghanistan, we came up against a highly sophisticated people, soft and pleasure-loving. There was all the difference in the world between the Afghans and the Iranians. Tehran had the outward appearance of a rich city with big buildings and fine avenues and numerous automobiles. I was told that there were eighty thousand cars in Tehran which has a population of about a million and a half. Probably, no city in Asia has so many cars. And yet, there was the other side of extreme poverty. Probably, there are few places where the extremes

of a few rich and a vast number of poor are more marked. There was practically no purdah or veiling of women, and the richer classes went about sporting Parisian clothes and speaking for preference in French, although they are proud enough of their own beautiful Persian language. The King or Shahenshah of Iran whom you must have met, is an intelligent and relatively progressive person. He is certainly more progressive than his Ministers who appeared to me to be a very mediocre lot. I was constantly irritated by the bowing and scraping before Royalty. In fact, hardly anybody counts in Iran, as far as I could make out, apart from the King.

Indira and I were given a huge palace to live in, which was all very gorgeous and equally uncomfortable. We lived about thirteen miles from the heart of the city with the result that we spent most of our time travelling up to the city and back and usually covering about a hundred miles in the course of the day.

In spite of much magnificence that we saw and the display of wealth, I had no sense of real stability there or of basic strength. They were a people rather afraid, afraid of the Soviet and even a little afraid of Afghanistan. My visit, I was told, was rather unusual and different from the visits of previous dignitaries who had gone there. The people had taken little interest in those other visits, but obviously they were interested in me and there were crowds in the streets waiting for me and expressing their approval. What I said there at various gatherings was also somewhat different from the usual formal speeches and hence appreciated by the public.

We paid a visit to Shiraz which is famous in Iran for its poets. From there, we went to Persepolis, and as I stood there amidst the ruins of a mighty palace, the whole panorama of ancient history came before my eyes.

And so I came back after our brief tour to our own problems and difficulties. Even during the few days we were away, there were tremendous floods in several parts of the country as well as drought in other parts. The gods continue to be unkind to us. Oddly enough, I have prospered physically in spite of all these burdens and am keeping quite well. After another two days here, I am going to the Punjab.

I suppose you and others in England are full of the general election. Fortunately, for you this period of waiting is not long. Meanwhile, Khrushchev is impressing America and possibly changing the course of history thereby.

[Yours,  
Jawahar]



(h) USA

**117. To Leonard Cheshire: PL 480 Funds Not Available<sup>129</sup>**

3rd September, 1959

Dear Group Captain Cheshire,

I had received your letter of August 17th some days ago. You know that we are greatly interested in the work you are doing and would like to help to the best of our ability. But I do not quite understand where the American PL 480 comes into the picture.<sup>130</sup> If any American foundation or organisation helps you that will be welcome. PL 480 is normally used here in connection with the import of foodgrains and the monies realised from the sale of these foodgrains have to be used for specified purposes. It will not be possible for those monies to be diverted elsewhere.

But if the United States Government is prepared to help you, we shall welcome it. I imagine it should not be difficult to find some way which would meet your wishes and yet be in conformity with our own rules and practices as well as those of the United States Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**118. To Eisenhower: Germany, China, Negotiations<sup>131</sup>**

Dear Mr. President,

I am grateful to you for your letter which was forwarded to us on the 4th September.<sup>132</sup>

2. We have followed with great interest your visits to the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France and your high endeavour to explore every possible avenue for a just settlement and a lasting peace. May I respectfully

129. Letter to Leonard Cheshire, founder of Cheshire Homes.

130. Public Law 480, an Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act was signed into Law by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower on 10 July 1954.

131. Telegram to Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the USA, 13 September 1959.

132. For Eisenhower's letter of 2 September 1959, see U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v15/d241> (accessed 26 February 2013).

express the hope that Premier Khrushchev's visit to the United States and subsequently your visit to the Soviet Union will help to some extent in realising this objective of peace which you have so much at heart.

3. It is true that we have been distressed over the question of our frontier with the Chinese State, particularly in the North East. The minor border problems relating to some small adjustments of our frontier are not of great consequence and I believe are capable of settlement if they are approached in the right spirit. But the Chinese maps include a very considerable area of our territory in the north and north-east and this is something we cannot accept. While these maps have been in use for many years past, the People's Government of China had not previously actively supported them. Recently, this support has been officially given and it is this that has created a new and an unfortunate situation.

4. I entirely agree with you that we should never abandon negotiation and conciliation in favour of force and strife. I do not expect any large scale aggression by Chinese forces. We ourselves shall strictly adhere to peaceful methods unless we are actually attacked.

5. My sister Mrs. Pandit told me of her meeting you in London.<sup>133</sup> I was happy to learn from her of your good health. I trust that this good health will continue to enable you to complete the great task that you have undertaken.

6. May I again say that a visit by you to India will be most welcome to our Government and people. We trust that it may be possible for you at a convenient time to accept our invitation.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

133. On 1 September 1959.



**119. To Krishna Menon: Tibet in the UN<sup>134</sup>**

I returned to Delhi this morning and have seen your telegrams 216<sup>135</sup> and 217<sup>136</sup> of September 27th

2. About taking Tibetan issue to UN, we have consistently taken up attitude that we are not in favour of it as this can do no good. If it comes up before the UN, we will not of course support it. We may abstain or oppose depending on the form in which it comes up.

3. Apart from the various considerations you have pointed out, we cannot ignore the prevailing strong sentiment in India not only in regard to what has happened in Tibet, but also generally against China because of border developments.

4. It seems to me that the best course for us would be to abstain on the issue of inscription of the item. Our final decision on the resolution itself can be taken at a later stage. Possibly the Irish resolution may undergo some changes and we can decide then.

5. Whether we abstain or record a vote of non-participation at any stage should be decided by you.<sup>137</sup>

6. Para 10 of your telegram<sup>138</sup>. The American Ambassador<sup>139</sup> was clearly informed of our attitude. I am surprised, therefore, that there should have been any doubt about it.

134. Telegram, 29 September 1959. File No. 5 (28)-UN-II/59, p. 10/corr., MEA.

135. See Appendix 10, pp. 324-328.

136. See Appendix 11, pp. 328-329.

137. The *Hindustan Times* on 23 October 1959 reported that: "Although the Tibetan resolution in the UN on 21 October 1959 failed to obtain the requisite two-thirds majority, the noting justifies the conclusions that the verdict is unmistakably for the restoration of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetans. The resolution was passed after two days of debate by 45 votes to nine with 26 abstentions. Two members, Guinea and Costa Rica, were absent." Krishna Menon, leader of Indian delegation told the UNGA that "India was abstaining as it was her hope the plight of the Tibetan people would be sorted by process of reconciliation. India's abstention meant in no sense a lack of concern or lack of feeling in regard to the Tibetan people or any reflection on our relation with China. It does not also mean that we are unconcerned when the human rights is raised."

138. See Appendix 10, pp. 324-328.

139. Ellsworth Bunker.

(i)UK

**120. To K.M. Panikkar: Fund for Indo-British Cultural Relations<sup>140</sup>**

September 2, 1959

My dear Panikkar,

I was glad to see you today sitting rather far away in the Rajya Sabha.

I have just received your letter with your note on a Foundation for the Development of Indo-British Cultural Relations.<sup>141</sup> I have read this note. I rather like the idea, but I am not very clear in my mind about the reaction to it in India at the present stage. I do not think you should expect such direct help from government, that is, financial help. Nor are you likely to get such money from the average Indian in India. Some people may think that this is kind of an extension of the British Council in India which, of course, it is not. I suggest that you might find out how some of our important people react to it, beginning with the Vice-President.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. Letter to K.M. Panikkar, Ambassador of India to France. File No. 40 (188)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

141. The letter of 1 September 1959 said: "I enclose herewith for your kind perusal a memorandum concerning a scheme which, I am sure, will interest you. I had done some preliminary work in regard to this and had hoped to take it up in earnest on retirement from my post in Paris. But the uncertainty in respect of my health prevented me from submitting it to you before. Unless I was reasonably certain that my health would stand the strain of the work I have outlined in the memorandum I did not want to proceed with it. Now since the doctors assure me that I am fully restored to my normal health, I am anxious to proceed with the scheme. But the success of the programme, as I have indicated in the last paragraph, depends on it generally meeting with your approval. If you can spare me a quarter of an hour, I shall be glad to explain my point of view further and also indicate the lines on which I have so far worked."



## 121. In the Rajya Sabha: "Racial Discrimination of Indians in UK"<sup>142</sup>

Shri Abdur Rezzak Khan:<sup>143</sup> Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of Indian nationals in the United Kingdom who have been victims of racial discrimination during the year 1958 and from January, 1959 onwards till July, 1959?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: 1958—Six; 1959—Nil.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha:<sup>144</sup> May I know, Sir, the form in which racial discrimination was practiced there?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: These people had gone to certain ball-rooms and dancing places, and they were not allowed there.

Dr. R.B. Gour:<sup>145</sup> Have the Government of India received any reports about these incidents from their own High Commissioner in the United Kingdom?<sup>146</sup>

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir. We do not go by newspaper reports generally.

Dr. R.B. Gour: Have the Government of India then taken up the question with the Government of the United Kingdom?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, these ball-rooms and dancing places are owned by private persons, and as such, Sir, we have informally brought it to the notice of the U.K. Government, but no formal action has been taken in regard to this matter.

142. Answers to questions, 8 September 1959. Rajya Sabha Debates, Oral Answers, Vol. XXVI, cols 3159-3161.

143. CPI, MP from West Bengal.

144. Independent, MP from Bihar.

145. CPI, MP from Andhra Pradesh.

146. Malcolm Macdonald.

Dr. R.B. Gour: Obviously, Sir, certain private persons have indulged in racial discrimination against the Indian nationals there. Is it then not necessary that the Government of India should ask the Government of the United Kingdom to protect our nationals there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, no special protection for the purpose of dancing appears to be necessary. But what normally happens is that the United Kingdom Government's attention is drawn to these things, and that Government regrets over those things. But, Sir, just to mention one particular case, at Wolverhampton, one Indian was not admitted to a dance-hall. He wrote to the Mayor, and the Mayor expressed his regret, or rather the Town-Clerk expressed his regret, and indeed, Sir, he referred the complaint to the Licensing Justice, the person who had licensed that dance-hall. Well, Sir, there was a good deal of criticism in the matter of refusing admission to that Indian. But the owner of the dance-hall said that he was quite sorry for it and he was unable to change his rules and regulations in regard to it. He also said that he will have to shut up his shop if he changed his rules and regulations. Some people are thinking of bringing forward some kind of Bill in the British House of Commons on this subject.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: May I know, Sir, whether all the incidents were dancing club incidents...

Mr. Chairman: Is it all in the interest of improving sadachar?

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy: May I know, Sir, whether there were other incidents also, apart from these dancing-club incidents?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: They were mostly in relation to ball-room dancing.

Dr. R.B. Gour: Is dancing something which is cruel and immoral in England or for that matter anywhere else?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I never said that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. The question is that under the British law, any private concern can have a dance-room and it can limit admittance to it according to the present law. They have different laws in regard to different matters.

Shri B.K.P. Sinha: May I know, Sir, whether any Indian has been a victim of racial riots in England?



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, one or two Indians were involved in the racial riots which were not directed against the Indians as such, but against the West Africans, last year. That way, Sir, one or two Indians got involved.

## (j) USSR

**122. To MEA: Soviet Warning about Iran<sup>147</sup>**

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me this evening. He said that as I was going to Iran, he had been instructed to explain to me the present position in regard to Soviet-Iran relations. He also spoke to me about the talks going on here for the refinery. About this I am writing a separate note.

2. He said that relations between the Soviet Union and Iran were quite good till 1958. The Shah visited the Soviet Union and at his invitation, a Soviet delegation went to Tehran to discuss a treaty of friendship etc. These discussions proceeded apparently satisfactorily, and the Soviet delegation gave a draft treaty of friendship and non-aggression. On behalf of the Iranian Government, the Foreign Minister of Iran<sup>148</sup> presented his own draft treaty. The Soviet Government was prepared to help Iran in many ways. Among which was the erection of hydro-electric plants on the rivers on the frontier which would be or the benefit of both countries. A copy of the Iranian draft was given to me.

3. While these discussions were going on, suddenly they were broken off by the Iranians who had been playing a double game and had been carrying on secret talks with the Americans. These latter talks led to a treaty between Iran and the United States for American bases, military aid, etc.

4. Because of all this, relations between the Soviet Union and Iran deteriorated rapidly. It appeared to the Soviet Government that the Shahinshah was playing a double game throughout and a double-crosser. It was only at his invitation that the Soviet delegation had gone there and, in fact, even the Iranian Government had proposed terms of a treaty. The whole purpose of this proposed treaty was to ensure the security of Iran and to arrange for economic help in various ways to be given to Iran. If there was such a treaty, there was absolutely no danger to Iran's security. In spite of all this, Iran preferred to have a military aid treaty with the U.S., and Americans had poured in afterwards into Iran. To this the Soviet Union took strong exception.

147. Note to SG, FS, and CS, 12 September 1959.

148. Abbas Aram.

5. Early this year, the Iranian Ambassador in Moscow<sup>149</sup> sought an interview with Mr. Khrushchev. He complained about the radio broadcasts from Moscow which attacked the Iranian Government and more especially the Shahinshah.<sup>150</sup> He also discussed some economic matters as Iran's trade with the Soviet Union had suffered greatly and her economic position had deteriorated.

6. I pointed out to the Soviet Ambassador that Iran had been a member of the Baghdad Pact for many years previously.<sup>151</sup> Thus she was already connected in that military alliance with the Western nations. What great difference took place when Iran made another treaty with the United States? This was just a continuation of the Baghdad Pact or an addition to it. I asked him further if the proposals of the Soviet Government for a treaty included anything to the effect that Iran must come out of the Baghdad Pact. He said that there was no such specific proposal, and Iran could have continued in, the Baghdad Pact even after a treaty with the Soviet Union.

7. I did not pursue this matter further, even though there seemed to be an obvious contradiction between membership of the Baghdad Pact and a treaty and non-aggression with the Soviet Union. I suppose the Soviet Union thought that by such a treaty they would somewhat undermine the Baghdad Pact or Iran's membership of it.

8. I further said that the change in Iran's policy and attitude may well be because of the revolution in Iraq. He replied that this might be so to some extent, but, in fact, the talks with the Shahanshah and the invitation to the Soviet delegation to go to Iran came some time after the Baghdad revolution.

9. He told me that the radio broadcasts from Moscow had hit the Iranian Government hard, and they were, therefore, much worried about them. According to him, these broadcasts were specially made against the Shahanshah. On my enquiry, he said that there had been some toning down of these broadcasts from Moscow. Evidently they continued still in some measure.

10. I asked him if the Iranians were also carrying on a broadcast campaign against the Soviet Union. He said "yes", "in a small way", because they have not got the facilities, and their broadcasts at the most affect, to some extent, Azerbaijan.

149. Masud Ansari.

150. The "attacks" included newspaper publications and radio broadcasts saying that Iran was in danger of falling apart due to foreign influence and the "corruption" of its leaders. It was alleged that the Soviet Union "encouraged" the Iranian people to rebel against the Shah and rid their country of any foreign influence.

151. Iran joined in the Baghdad Pact in October 1955. See SWJN/SS/28/p. 215.



**123. To MEA: Soviet Technical Training Centre for India<sup>152</sup>**

The Soviet Ambassador, who saw me this evening, also spoke to me about a proposal to open a centre in India for the training of high-class technicians or engineers who could act as teachers to others. The idea was that the money for this should come from the Soviet allotment to the United Nations Special Fund. The Directors of that fund had decided to give 30, 40, 000 roubles for this purpose (I am not quite sure about the figure, but it was over three million roubles). It was possible that they might be able to give more, as the Soviet contribution to the United Nations Special Fund was five million roubles.

2. The Ambassador wanted to know to whom he should talk about this matter. I said that he had better discuss it with Foreign Secretary or with Joint Secretary Sen. This might be arranged.

**124. To Krishna Menon: Eisenhower-Khrushchev Talks<sup>153</sup>**

Your telegram dated September 13 from London has reached me as I am going to Palam to take off for Kabul.<sup>154</sup> Last paragraph of the telegram is not clear. You can certainly discuss this or any matter if Khrushchev raises it. But I am wholly in the dark as to how can deal with such a matter.

**(k) Other Countries****125. For Mongolian Prime Minister: Banquet Speech<sup>155</sup>**

Mr. Prime Minister, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, when you arrived here this morning, we gave you a warm welcome, and memories of old times came to us and echoes of long ago rang in our ears. We remember, of course, the present in which we are, but we remembered also the distant past when messengers from India went to your far country, taking with them many unsubstantial but nevertheless very important gifts. They took their culture,

152. Note to SG, FS and CS, 12 September 1959.

153. Telegram, 13 September 1959.

154. See Appendix 8, pp. 321-323.

155. Speech in honour of Yumjagiin Tsendenbal, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian Republic, Delhi, 10 September 1959. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

their art and their religion, and your forbears were pleased to welcome them and make friends with them, and thus began a close bond of the spirit between our two countries, a bond which is more enduring than history, than perhaps the more material bonds. So, we thought of those old days, and we were happy to welcome you as the distinguished representative of Mongolia.

We thought also of today in which we live and the future for which we work, your country and ours; and we thought of these two together. And we thought how good it was that in this present and for the future, we were reviving those old bonds in this new context in which we live. We work for peace and the well being of our people. We work also for peace and are devoted to it, and work for the happiness and well being of both; and yet most of us, I suppose, remember, because of the very incomplete and limited histories we learnt, of the days when your country sent forth great warriors to conquer nearly half the world as it was known in those days, more than half Asia and half Europe. Those days are past, I hope, and in spite of all the troubles we see and all the preparations for war and the atomic bombs and the rest, I hope we are marching to an era of peace.

I am sure that your country aims and works for peace as ours does, and we want to be comrades and to cooperate in this work of peace for our own good, your good and for the world's good.

I did some little research work today and I discovered that the area of your country is nearly half the area of India. Our area, I believe, is about 12,70,000 square miles. The area of Mongolia is nearly 6,00,000 square miles, which is a little under half. Then I went on to the population figures of the two countries. Your country's population, you were good enough to tell me, is one million; our country's is, as I believe, round about 400 million now. So, roughly speaking, we are two hundred times more intensely populated than your country. That itself produces a different type of problem for us as other things do—climate and other things that affect human beings.

So, in some ways our problems are in a different context. Nevertheless, essentially they are similar as are problems of all countries which are trying to develop and trying to get the good things of life for their people. In that we can learn, I suppose, from each other and from other countries. But in doing so, I believe, it is important that each country continues to water its own roots and to derive sustenance from them to retain its individuality which connects it with their distant past and which should project itself into the future. I hope, I believe, we will do that in our country. I hope that your country too will maintain that in the future that you are building.

Therefore, I hope also that those old bonds, cultural, artistic and other, that joined us in the past will join us in the future also, in addition to the new bonds



that we may build in the new world that is being created by the efforts of people all over. So, because of all this, and much more, we were particularly happy to welcome you here, and I am sure that wherever you may go in India you will receive warm and heartfelt welcome.

You were good enough, Sir, to invite me to visit Mongolia. I cannot tell you how happy I would be to be able to visit it. Even though it becomes rather difficult for me to pay visits to distant countries, but, still, I shall live in the hope that sometime or other I should come to Mongolia carrying the good wishes of our people to your people and help a little in strengthening those bonds that have united us in the past.

Two years ago we sent you our most distinguished ambassador, our Vice-President.<sup>156</sup> We could not have sent you a more suitable person not only because of his great position in India today but because he represents in himself that great past of ours, the present and the future, all combined. So, we chose as our messenger to you the best that we could offer and you gave him a warm welcome and he told us about that welcome and many things about your country.

Now you have come here and not only we but the people of our country will think of Mongolia and the people of Mongolia, and I hope thus we shall strengthen in every way our old contacts and new ones.

So, again I wish you a warm welcome on my own behalf and on behalf of our Government and the people of India. I hope that your very brief stay here will be pleasant and that you will carry back with you memories of friends, memories of comrades, memories of people who will work in cooperation with you in the great tasks ahead.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister of Mongolia.

156. In September 1957.

**126. To Bandaranaike: Assassination Attempt on  
Bandaranaike<sup>157</sup>**

I have been deeply shocked and grieved as others have been at the murderous attack on Prime Minister Bandaranaike.<sup>158</sup> I grieve not only because he has been facing courageously, as Prime Minister, difficult problems in Ceylon, but also as a friend of long-standing. I earnestly hope that he will recover. It is a matter of particular sorrow to me that two persons in Buddhist Bhikku robes should have attempted this assassination. This is a double tragedy, for to associate the law of the Buddha with murder is indeed shocking. The growing tendency to violence will ruin our countries if we do not check it and people do not stand up to it. I earnestly hope that the people of Ceylon will face this calamity bravely and peacefully and that Premier Bandaranaike will survive and live many years to serve his country and the causes he has at heart.<sup>159</sup>

157. Statement to the press, 25 September 1959. From *The Hindu*, 26 September 1959.

158. Solomon Bandaranaike was shot on 25 September 1959 by Mapitigama Bhddharakhita Thero and Somarama Thero.

159. He died the following day.



## V. APPENDICES

### 1. Pham Van Dong to Nehru<sup>1</sup>

*[Refer to item 106]*

Hanoi

August 8, 1959

Dear Sir,

Following my note dated July 7, 1959 addressed to Your Excellency, I wish to draw your attention to the present extremely serious situation in Laos.

In making a step further in the carrying out of the U.S. imperialists' scheme, the Phoui Sananikone Government has sent more reinforcements to the Vietnam-Laoian frontier, arrested Prince Souphanouvong and other leaders of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, opened a propaganda campaign against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Phoui Sananikone Government has also falsely accused the Democratic Republic of Vietnam of interfering in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos.

The above acts of the U.S. imperialists and the Phoui Sananikone Government are new and more serious violations of the Geneva Agreement on Laos and of the agreements signed between the Government of the Kingdom of Laos and the ex-Pathet Lao Forces, rendering the situation in Laos extremely serious, threatening the security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and endangering peace in Indo-china and South East Asia.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam wishes to draw your Excellency's attention to the above situation and hopes that Your Excellency and the Indian Government with your influence and position as the Chairman country of the International Commission for Supervision and Control of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement in Indo-china, will take urgent measures to restore the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos in order to ensure a strict and full implementation of the Geneva Agreement on Laos and of the Agreements signed between the Government of the Kingdom of Laos and the Ex- Pathet Lao Forces to safeguard peace in Indochina and South East Asia.

On this occasion I beg to send to Your Excellency my high consideration.

Pham Van Dong

1. Letter.

## 2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China to G. Parthasarathi<sup>2</sup>

[Refer to items 81 and 97]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China and has the honour to state, on instructions, once again the following regarding Indian armed forces' unlawful violation of Chinese territory at Longju in the Migyitun area and Tamaden and their armed provocation against Chinese troops in the Migyitun area:

1. According to verified investigation conducted by the Chinese Government, it is confirmed without any doubt that the armed clash between Chinese and Indian troops which occurred on August 26 1959 in the southern part of Migyitun in the Tibet Region of China was solely caused by Indian troops' unlawful intrusion into the Migyitun area and their unwarranted provocative attack on Chinese troops. The facts pointed out in the Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed over to the Embassy on August 27 were true and established. The Indian troops must bear full responsibility for this serious border incident. The actual fact was as follows: Around 06-00 hours on August 25, when Chinese troops were patrolling in the southern part of Migyitun, a group of Indian troops which had intruded into that area suddenly opened fire on the Chinese troops without giving any warning, discharging dozens of rounds of machine-gun and rifle shots. Only after the Chinese troops under compulsion fired back in self defence, did the Indian troops withdraw from the area of clash. The Chinese troops then neither arrested any Indian soldiers, nor outflanked any out-post of the Indian troops at Longju. But in the morning of the next day, that is, August 26, the Indian troops at the Longju out-post went further in carrying out new provocations, once again launching a violent attack on the Chinese troops in Migyitun, discharging as many as several hundreds of rounds of rifle, sten-gun and light and heavy machine-gun shots. On the same day, Indian aircraft many times violated China's air space over this area. At the time the Chinese troops merely held their own posts; they did not strike back against the Indian troops' provocation, not to speak of so-called encircling Indian troops' outpost at Longju. The Indian troops stationing at Longju withdrew subsequently on their own accord. Thus it can be seen that the Chinese troops acted entirely in self defence and to preserve China's territorial integrity, and throughout the incidents demonstrated the greatest toleration and self-restraint. Nevertheless, in its Note handed over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on

2. Note, 1 September 1959. See *White Paper II*, pp. 3-5.



August 27 by the Indian Embassy in China, the Indian Government groundlessly accused Chinese troops of violating Indian border, opening fire first on the Indian troops, out-flanking and encircling the Indian post at Longju and even arresting twelve Indian soldiers, etc., etc. These in no way correspond to the facts. The Chinese Government categorically rejects the allegation made in the Embassy's Note that the Chinese troops carried out deliberate aggression on India as well as the Indian Government's unwarranted protest, and once again lodges its serious protest with the Indian Government against the violation of the above-mentioned Chinese territory and repeated armed provocations by the Indian troops.

2. Although the Chinese troops did not cross for a single step into Longju during the incidents on August 25 and 26, it must, however, be pointed out that Longju is indisputably part of Chinese territory, and that the invasion and occupation of that place and the setting up of outposts there by the Indian troops constitute a grave violation of China's territorial integrity. The Indian Government's claim that Longju be Indian territory as made in the Notes of the Indian Embassy in China of June 27 and August 27 is entirely groundless; the Chinese Government absolutely cannot agree to this claim.

Longju is part of the Migyitun area and has all along been under the jurisdiction of the Tibet Region of China. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Chinese People's Liberation Army for long stationed units there, and Chinese authorities took various administrative measures locally, including the issuance of agricultural loans. It was only not long ago that the place was unlawfully invaded and occupied by Indian troops taking advantage of an interval resulting from the shift of Chinese troops.

As the Indian Government is aware, the Chinese Government has pointed out that no section of the Sino-Indian boundary has ever been formally delimited; the boundary between the two countries is yet to be settled through surveys and discussions between the two sides. The Chinese Government has also repeatedly pointed out that the so-called traditional boundary between India and the eastern part of the Tibet Region of China as referred to by the Indian Government, i.e., the so-called McMahon Line, was set forth in the past by the British imperialists unilaterally and has never been accepted by the Chinese Government; it of course cannot be regarded as legal. Nevertheless, even by documents and maps related to this so-called traditional boundary as set forth by the British, Longju is unquestionably within Chinese territory. It can thus be seen that the Indian Government's claim that Longju belongs to India is devoid of any ground no matter viewed from what aspect.

In Premier Chou En-lai's letter to Prime Minister Nehru dated January 23, 1959, the Chinese Government, in order to avoid any border incidents so far as

possible pending the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries, proposed to the Indian Government that, as a provisional measure, each side temporarily maintain the *status quo* of the border areas under its administration and not go beyond them. To this proposal Prime Minister Nehru expressed his agreement in his reply dated March 22, 1959. Yet the Indian Government claimed Longju to be Indian territory and occupied it by troops. This was an attempt to change the *status quo* of Longju by force. The Chinese Government cannot but lodge a strong protest against this.

Now that the Indian troops have withdrawn from Longju of their own accord, the Chinese Government emphatically urges the Indian Government to adopt measures at once to prevent Indian troops from committing any new violation against Longju. Otherwise the Indian side must bear full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom. The Chinese Government must also point out that some remnant Tibetan rebel bandits are still using areas under Indian administration as bases to carry out harassment against Migyitun, Longju and other places. The Chinese Government asks the Indian Government to take effective measures also to put a stop to this.

3. In its Note dated June 27, 1959, the Indian Government also claimed Tamaden which is east of Migyitun to be Indian territory. After investigations, the Chinese Government is in possession of reliable materials which prove that that place likewise has long been Chinese territory, and even by the so-called traditional boundary, the so-called McMahon Line as set forth in the past by the British, the place is located to the north of that Line. The Chinese Government asks the Indian Government to order the Indian troops still occupying the place to withdraw immediately and completely.

It is clear from the above that the fact is not, as alleged in the Indian Government's Notes, that Chinese troops have repeatedly violated Indian territory or that the Chinese Government has been asserting its territorial claims by force; quite contrary, it is the Indian troops that have repeatedly violated Chinese territory and Indian Government that has been asserting its illegitimate territorial claims by force. In its Notes, the Indian Government more than once said that it had instructed its frontier troops to use force against Chinese troops. This action not only constitutes a deliberate intimidation against China but has already led to serious consequences. The Chinese Government deems that the recent unwarranted provocations by Indian troops in Migyitun and Longju were by no means fortuitous, but were precisely the inevitable results of the Indian Government's above instructions.

The Chinese Government, in the spirit of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and Sino-Indian friendship, has always adhered to the attitude of seeking a settlement of the question of boundary between China and India



through diplomatic channels. At the same, the Chinese Government wishes to reiterate: No violation of Chinese territory will be tolerated. All areas that have been invaded and occupied must be evacuated. Any armed provocation will certainly meet with Chinese frontier guard's firm rebuff.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

### 3. L. Zutshi to Nehru<sup>3</sup>

*[Refer to item 87]*

"Gulmarg"

20, Montpelier Road  
Ealing, London, W.5

September 5, 1959

Dear Mr. Nehru,

May I refer you to my cablegramme dated Sept. 3, which I trust you received. I reproduce the text herein below:

"Please refer paragraphs 36-46 my note mineral development Kashmir submitted to Kashmir Government on July 13 and August 10 with copy to Mr. Krishna Menon on August 10. Soda plains referred therein likely to contain borax raw material for boron fuel, etc., lie north of Aksai Chin area. Territory bounded by Latitudes 35 degrees 50 minutes and 34 degrees and 50 minutes and Longitudes 78 degrees 40 minutes and 80 degrees comprising marshy ground and dried up salt lake beds likely to contain deposits of sodium, potassium, and bromine salts and if drying up, assisted by volcanic activity which is likely, then sulphur and borax as well. Suggest, as recommended in the above note, immediate exploration of the area."

Since sending the above cable, I carried out further research work in this matter. May I therefore refer you to the map of Jammu and Kashmir State attached to "Jammoo and Kashmir territories," by Fredrick Drew, published by Edward Stanford of Charing Cross, London, in 1875. In this map between the longitudes 79° -30' and 80° and Latitudes 35°55', and 36°10', "Gold Field" is marked, covering approximately 600 square miles. The map reproduced by Drew is, as he states, compiled from the maps issued by the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India in 1874. Further, Drew was a highly qualified mining engineer who had worked in the Geological Survey of Great Britain

3. Letter. File No. 17(371)/59-66-PMS.

and had been attached to Kashmir Durbar from 1862 to 1872 with a view to carry out, as he again says himself, the Geological Survey as well as assess the mineral resources of the State. Further, Drew had been posted and worked as Governor of Ladakh. Therefore, the fact that he marked the above are (and none other which have since been located elsewhere, e.g., near Dras and Kargil) as a gold field, shows that he was convinced of its enormous potentialities.

Yours sincerely,  
L. Zutshi

#### 4. Keshava Deva Malaviya to Nehru<sup>4</sup>

*[Refer to item 71]*

Camp: Bombay  
September 7, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

This is about the allocation of 180 crores Russian credit for the Third Plan period. I have heard something about the decision taken by the Cabinet Sub-Committee. Will you kindly let me know the full decision taken in this connection?

2. I hear that all the recommendations made by the Economic Affairs Committee have, more or less, been accepted and it has now been left to the Russians to knock out whatever they think in order to keep within the 180 crores credit. The total recommendation, I am told, is that of more than 200 crores. In order to develop Cambay and Sibsagar oil fields—if they are established—and in order to maintain the tempo of oil exploration in the public sector we have only one source of facilities and help and that is from Russia. As I said to you, we can also try to get help from other countries of the West coming only through their oil exploration companies. I am of the opinion that Russians will not hesitate to allot 45 to 50 crores of rupees for the (a) purchase of equipments, (b) services of the technical personnel, (c) facilities for manufacturing units, and (d) development of any oil field on project basis, even though they may have to increase their allotment from 180 crores to 200 or a little more. It will be desirable that Khera should be sent to Moscow soon with full instructions regarding details. Any other person could, of course, accompany him whom you would like to send for Khera's assistance. K. B.

4. Letter. File No. 17(214)/56-66-PMS.



Lall or anyone else of the Commerce & Industry Ministry may look after other programmes, but the quantum of credit for oil exploration and other mineral development programme should be processed only through the delegation led by Khera. He knows all about our requirements of the ONGC and also of the Ministry. There should, of course, be coordination between the men of the Steel and Commerce & Industry side.

3. As you remember, USSR Ambassador conveyed to me the desire of the USSR Government for a quick decision as to the demands on oil side and also suggested that, perhaps, 45 to 50 crores of rupees might be needed. The Conference that has just concluded in Dehra Dun has also some very important suggestions to make to the USSR Govt. and I kept Khera fully in the picture. He will, therefore, undertake additional work of greater collaboration and improvement in their administration for the sake of quicker deliveries and better technical processing.

Yours affectionately,  
Keshava Deva Malaviya

## 5. Chou En-lai to Nehru<sup>5</sup>

[Refer to items 1, 89, 90, and 94]

Peking,  
8th September, 1959

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

I have carefully read Your Excellency's letter dated March 22, 1959. I find from your letter that there is a fundamental difference between the positions of our two Governments on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This has made me somewhat surprised and also made it necessary for me to take a longer period of time to consider how to reply to your letter.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is a complicated question left over by history. In tackling this question, one cannot but, first of all, take into account the historical background of British aggression on China when India was under British rule. From the early days, Britain harboured aggressive ambition towards China's Tibet region. It continuously instigated Tibet to separate from China, in an attempt to put under its control a nominally independent Tibet. When this design failed, it applied all sorts of pressures on China, intending to make Tibet

5. Letter. See *White Paper II*, pp. 27-33.

a British sphere of influence while allowing China to maintain so-called suzerainty over Tibet. In the meantime, using India as its base, Britain conducted extensive territorial expansion into China's Tibet region, and even the Sinkiang region. All this constitutes the fundamental reason for the long term disputes over and non-settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

China and India are both countries which were long subjected to imperialist aggression. This common experience should have naturally caused China and India to hold an identical view of the above-said historical background and to adopt an attitude of mutual sympathy, mutual understanding and fairness and reasonableness in dealing with the boundary question. The Chinese Government originally thought the Indian Government would take such an attitude. Unexpectedly to the Chinese Government, however, the Indian Government demanded that the Chinese Government give formal recognition to the situation created by the application of the British policy of aggression against China's Tibet region as the foundation for the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. What is more serious, the Indian Government has applied all sorts of pressures on the Chinese Government, not even scrupling the use of force to support this demand. At this the Chinese Government cannot but feel a deep regret.

The Chinese Government has consistently held that an over-all settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides, taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the Five Principles, through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step. Pending this, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing *status quo* of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force. As to some of the disputes, provisional agreements concerning isolated places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquility of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries. This is exactly the basic idea expressed in my January 23, 1959 letter to you. The Chinese Government still considers this to be the way that should be followed by our two countries in settling the boundary question. Judging from Your Excellency's letter of March 22, 1959, it seems you are not completely against this principle.

I would like now to further explain the position of the Chinese Government in connection with the questions raised in Your Excellency's letter and in conjunction with the recent situation along the Sino-Indian border.

1. In my letter to Your Excellency dated January 23, 1959, I pointed out that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited. In your letter of March 22, 1959, Your Excellency expressed disagreement to this and tried energetically to prove that most parts of the Sino-Indian boundary had the



sanction of specific international agreements between the past Government of India and the Central Government of China. In order to prove that the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, I would like to furnish the following facts: (i) *Concerning the boundary separating China's Sinkiang and Tibet regions from Ladakh.*

In 1842, a peace treaty was indeed concluded between the local authorities of China's Tibet and the Kashmir authorities. However, the then Chinese Central Government did not send anybody to participate in the conclusion of this treaty, nor did it ratify the treaty afterwards. Moreover, this treaty only mentioned in general terms that Ladakh and Tibet would each abide by its borders, and did not make any specific provisions or explanations regarding the location of this section of the boundary. It is clear that this treaty cannot be used to prove that this section of the boundary has been formally delimited by the two sides, even less can it be used as the foundation to ask the Chinese Government to accept the unilateral claim of the Indian Government regarding this section of the boundary. As to the Chinese Government official's statement made in 1847 to the British representative that this section of the boundary was clear, it can only show that the then Chinese Government had its own clear view regarding this section of the boundary and cannot be taken as the proof that the boundary between the two sides had already been formally delimited. As a matter of fact, down to 1899, the British Government still proposed to formally delimit this section of the boundary with the Chinese Government, but the Chinese Government did not agree. Your Excellency also said on August 28 this year in India's Lok Sabha: "This was the boundary of the old Kashmir State with Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. Nobody had marked it." It can thus be seen that this section of the boundary has never been delimited. Between China and Ladakh, however, there does exist a customary line derived from historical traditions, and Chinese maps have always drawn the boundary between China and Ladakh in accordance with this line. The marking of this section of the boundary on the map of "Punjab, Western Himalaya and Adjoining Parts of Tibet" compiled by the British John Walker by order of the Court of Directors of East India Company (which was attached to the British Major Alexander Cunningham's book "Ladakh" published in 1854) corresponded fairly close to the Chinese maps. Later British and Indian maps included large tracts of Chinese territory into Ladakh. This was without any legal grounds, nor in conformity with the actual situation of administration by each side all the time.

(ii) *Concerning the section of the boundary between the Art Area of China's Tibet and India.*

It can be seen from your letter that you also agree that this section of the boundary has not been formally delimited by the two countries. Not only so,

there have in fact been historical disputes between the two sides over the right to many places in this area. For example, the area of Sang and Tsungsha, southwest of Tsaparang Dzong in Tibet, which had always belonged to China, was thirty to forty years back gradually invaded and occupied by the British. The local authorities of China's Tibet took up this matter several times with Britain, without any results. It has thus become an outstanding issue left over by history.

(iii) *Concerning the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan.*

The Indian Government insists that this section of the boundary has long been clearly delimited, citing as its grounds that the so-called MacMahon Line was jointly delineated by the representatives of the Chinese Government, the Tibet local authorities and the British Government at the 1913-1914 Simla Conference. As I have repeatedly made clear to Your Excellency, the Simla Conference was an important step taken by Britain in its design to detach Tibet from China. At the Conference were discussed the so-called boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet and that between Tibet and the rest of China. Contrary to what was said in your letter, the so-called MacMahon Line was never discussed at the Simla Conference, but was determined by the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government through an exchange of secret notes at Delhi on March 24, 1914, that is, prior to the signing of the Simla treaty. This line was later marked on the map attached to the Simla treaty as part of the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China. The so-called MacMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibet Region of China and has never been recognised by any Chinese Central Government and is therefore decidedly illegal. As to the Simla treaty, it was not formally signed by the representative of the then Chinese Central Government, and this is explicitly noted in the treaty. For quite a long time after the exchange of secret notes between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, Britain dared not make public the related documents, nor change the traditional way of drawing this section of the boundary on maps. This illegal line aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people. The Tibet local authorities themselves later also expressed their dissatisfaction with this line, and, following the independence of India in 1947, cabled Your Excellency asking India to return all the territory of the Tibet region of China south of this illegal line. This piece of territory corresponds in size to the Chekiang Province of China and is as big as ninety thousand square kilometres. Mr. Prime Minister, how could China agree to accept under coercion such an illegal line which would have it relinquish its rights and



disgrace itself by selling out its territory—and such a large piece of territory as that? The delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan in all traditional Chinese maps is a true reflection of the actual situation of the customary boundary before the appearance of the so-called MacMahon Line. Both the map of “Tibet and Adjacent Countries” published by the Indian Survey in 1917 and the map attached to the 1929 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* drew this section of the boundary in the same way as the Chinese maps. And it was only in the period around the peaceful liberation of China’s Tibet region in 1951 that Indian troops advanced on a large scale into the area south of the so-called MacMahon Line. Therefore, the assertion that this section of the boundary has long been clearly delimited is obviously untenable.

In Your Excellency’s letter, you also referred to the boundary between China and Sikkim. Like the boundary between China and Bhutan, this question does not fall within the scope of our present discussion. I would like, however, to take this opportunity to make clear once again that China is willing to live together in friendship with Sikkim and Bhutan, without committing aggression against each other, and has always respected the proper relations between them and India.

It can be seen from the above that the way the Sino-Indian boundary has always been drawn in maps published in China is not without grounds and that at first British and Indian maps also drew the Sino-Indian boundary roughly in the same way as the Chinese maps. As a matter of fact, it was not Chinese maps, but British and Indian maps that later unilaterally altered the way the Sino-Indian boundary was drawn. Nevertheless, since China and India have not delimited their mutual boundary through friendly negotiations and joint surveys, China has not asked India to revise its maps. In 1954, I explained to Your Excellency for the same reason that it would be inappropriate for the Chinese Government to revise the old map right now. Some people in India, however, are raising a big uproar about the maps published in China, attempting to create a pressure of public opinion to force China to accept India’s unilateral claims concerning the Sino-Indian boundary. Needless to say, this is neither wise nor worthy.

2. As stated above, the Chinese Government has all along adhered to a clear-cut policy on the Sino-Indian border question: on the one hand, it affirms the fact that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has not been delimited, while on the other, it also faces reality, and, taking specially into consideration the friendly relationship between China and India, actively seeks for a settlement fair and reasonable to both sides, and never tries unilaterally to change the long-existing state of the border between the two countries pending the settlement of the boundary question.

Regarding the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary, as I have stated above, the Chinese Government absolutely does not recognise the so-called MacMahon Line, but Chinese troops have never crossed that line. This is for the sake of maintaining amity along the border to facilitate negotiations and settlement of the boundary question, and in no way implies that the Chinese Government has recognised that line. In view of the fact that my former explanation of this point to Your Excellency is obviously misunderstood in Your Excellency's latest two letters to me, I have deemed it necessary once again to make the above explanation clearly.

Regarding the western section of the Sino-Indian boundary, China has strictly abided by the traditional customary line and, with regard to Indian troops' repeated intrusions into or occupation of Chinese territory, the Chinese Government, acting always in a friendly manner, has dealt with each case in a way befitting it. For example, regarding the invasion of Wu-je by Indian troops and administrative personnel, the Chinese Government has tried its best to seek a settlement of the question with the Indian Government through negotiations and to avoid a clash. Regarding the Indian troops who invaded the southwestern part of China's Sinkiang and the area of Lake Pankong in the Tibet Region of China, the Chinese frontier guards, after disarming them according to international practice, adopted an attitude of reasoning, asking them to leave Chinese territory and returning to them their arms. Regarding the Indian troops successive invasion and occupation of the areas of Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Tsungsha, Puling-sumdo, ChuVa, Chuje, Sangcha and Lapthal, the Chinese Government, after discovering these happenings, invariably conducted thorough and detailed investigations rather than laying charges against the Indian Government immediately and temperamentally. These measures prove that the Chinese Government is exerting its greatest effort to uphold Sino-Indian friendship.

Despite the above mentioned border incidents caused wholly by the trespassing of Indian troops, until the beginning of this year, the atmosphere along the Sino-Indian border had on the whole been fairly good. The fact that no armed clashes had ever occurred along the 2,000 or so kilometres of the Sino-Indian boundary, which is wholly undelimited, is in itself a powerful proof that, given a friendly and reasonable attitude on both sides, amity can be maintained in the border areas and tension ruled out pending the delimitation of the boundary between the two countries.

3. Since the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, however, the border situation has become increasingly tense owing to reasons for which the Chinese side cannot be held responsible. Immediately after the fleeing of a large number of Tibetan rebels into India. Indian troops started pressing forward steadily



across the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary. Changing unilaterally the long-existing state of the border between the two countries, they not only overstepped the so-called MacMahon Line as indicated in the map attached to the secret notes exchanged between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, but also exceeded the boundary drawn in current Indian maps which is alleged to represent the so-called MacMahon Line, but which in many places actually cuts even deeper into Chinese territory than the MacMahon Line. Indian troops invaded and occupied Longju, intruded into Yashar, and are still in occupation of Shatze, Khinzemane and Tamaden—all of which are Chinese territory—shielding armed Tibetan rebel bandits in this area. Indian aircraft have also time and again violated China's territorial air near the Sino-Indian border. What is especially regrettable is that, not long ago, the Indian troops unlawfully occupying Longju launched armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards stationing at Migyitun, leaving no room for the Chinese frontier guards but fire back in self-defence. This was the first instance of armed clash along the Sino-Indian border. It can be seen from the above that the tense situation recently arising on the Sino-Indian border was all caused by trespassing and provocations by Indian troops, and that for this the Indian side should be held fully responsible. Nevertheless, the Indian Government has directed all sorts of groundless charges against the Chinese Government, clamouring that China has committed aggression against India and describing the Chinese frontier guards' act of self-defence in the Migyitun areas as armed provocation. Many political figures and propaganda organs in India have seized the occasion to make a great deal of anti-Chinese utterances, some even openly advocating provocative actions of an even larger scale such as bombarding Chinese territory. Thus a second anti-Chinese campaign has been launched in India in six months' time. The fact that India does not recognise the undelimited state of the Sino-Indian boundary and steps up bringing pressure to bear on China militarily, diplomatically and through public opinion cannot but make one suspect that it is the attempt of India to impose upon China its one-sided claims on the boundary question. It must be pointed out that this attempt will never succeed and such action cannot possibly yield any results other than impairing the friendship of the two countries, further complicating the boundary question and making it more difficult to settle.

4. The friendly relations between China and India are based on the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. The Chinese Government has consistently held that all differences between our two countries must and certainly can be resolved through peaceful consultations and should not be allowed to affect the friendly relationship between the two countries. China looks upon its southwestern border as a border of peace and friendship. I can assure Your

Excellency that it is merely for the purpose of preventing remnant armed Tibetan rebels from crossing the border back and forth to carry out harassing activities that the Chinese Government has in recent months dispatched guard units to be stationed in the south-eastern part of the Tibet Region of China. This is obviously in the interest of ensuring the tranquility of the border and will in no way constitute a threat to India. Your Excellency is one of the initiators of the Five Principles and has made significant contributions to the consolidation and development of Sino-Indian friendship and constantly stressed the importance of this friendship. This has deeply impressed the Chinese Government and people. I have therefore given Your Excellency a systematic explanation of the whole picture of the Sino-Indian boundary. I hope that Your Excellency and the Indian Government will, in accordance with the Chinese Government's request, immediately adopt measures to withdraw the trespassing Indian troops and administrative personnel and restore the long existing state of the boundary between the two countries. Through this, the temporary tension on the Sino-Indian border would be eased at once and the dark clouds hanging over the relations between our two countries would be speedily dispelled, setting at ease our friends who are concerned for Sino-Indian friendly relations and dealing a blow to those who are sowing discord in the Sino-Indian relations and creating tension.

With cordial regards,

CHOU EN-LAI

## 6. Sampurnanand to Nehru<sup>6</sup>

*[Refer to item 86]*

Lucknow

September 8, 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

There is a very important matter about which I wanted to speak to you, but as we were very busy, it was not possible for me to do so. People in the State, particularly those living near the Indo-Tibetan border, are greatly disturbed by news of Chinese infiltration in Indian territory. The matter has been raised in the Legislature also. Today's papers carry the news of the Chinese having entered a part of Punjab somewhere on the Lahaul side. This may or may not be correct;

6. Letter. File No. 28(1E) BST/59, pp. 1-2/corr., MEA.



even if it is a rumour, it is enough to add to the already existing alarm. It is felt that the strength of our police on the border is not sufficient and that, in any case, there is nothing to prevent infiltration during the winter months when the police retires from its forward positions. You might remember that some time ago, you had yourself suggested that all-the-year-round police arrangements should be made in that area and we had been asked to prepare a scheme for that purpose. We did so and received the assurance that it would be sanctioned in its entirety. I do not know what has happened to it as I have not heard anything about it for the last several months.

The idea was roughly this: It may not be possible for the police to remain in the winter season in places which it occupies in other parts of the year as the area is swept by snow and blizzards and remains completely cut off for weeks together, but a little further back a line of check-posts can be maintained. This area also is not particularly attractive from the point of view of the weather—there are heavy snow-falls—but with proper arrangements it can be held. Expenditure will have to be incurred, however, on putting up buildings and making such arrangements as will ensure a steady flow of supplies during the worst weather. That scheme was to cost about 50 lakhs. We had prepared it on the assumption that, if it was sanctioned, it would come into operation next year. But if it is felt that, in the conditions obtaining at present, this area has to be policed at all costs to prevent possible infiltration, it might be possible to do something in the few weeks remaining till winter actually sets in. It requires your immediate attention. I do not know which department of the Government, External Affairs, Defence, Home or Finance is studying the matter. But I thought the best thing would be to write to you personally.

I cannot say, of course, what the Chinese intend to do, but if their idea is to infiltrate and gain footholds in those parts of our territory which they claim to be their own, it seems to me that the winter months would provide the most suitable opportunity, because that is the time when our frontiers remain completely unguarded.

Yours sincerely,  
Sampurnanand

## 7. J.B.S. Haldane's Note on the Bhakra Dam Tunnel<sup>7</sup>

[Refer to item 56]

11 September 1959

On September 2nd Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, the Irrigation & Power Minister, stated that expert naval divers would have to go down 250 feet below the water surface to close the right diversion tunnel of the Bhakra dam before any machinery can be salvaged. Or so I understand from press reports. The standard of reporting of parliamentary proceedings is incomparably higher than that of scientific lectures, but in such a technical matter it may possibly be inaccurate.

I know nothing about the details of the accident, nor exactly what the divers will have to do. But I do know about the divers' psychological and physiological difficulties. It is probably that I am the only person in India who has worked for many hours at pressures corresponding to over 250 feet of water. And I do not think many Indians have even the moderate experience of cave diving which I possess. Unfortunately I am 66 years old, and it would be silly for me to volunteer to do the job.

I do not know whether the divers who are to close the tunnel will wear self-contained dresses, or whether air will be sent down to them from the surface through a tube. If they can close the entrance without going into a tunnel, I think they should use whichever type of apparatus they are most accustomed to. But if they have to go some way into a tunnel, with an air tube and a telephone line trailing behind them, there is a good chance that one or other may get hooked round some projection. A diver in a self-contained dress, carrying his own supply of compressed air, would be well advised to remain in touch with the surface by telephone; but a thin wire, which he could cut if it got entangled, would be sufficient.

Let us see what are the main dangers which beset any diver at this depth, apart from special dangers which occur if he has to enter a tunnel. If he were given pure oxygen to breathe, which would be safe and economical if he were going down to a depth of less than thirty feet, he would lose consciousness, with violent convulsions, in five minutes or less. I assume that the naval authorities concerned will not make this criminal error. If he is given air to breathe, he will begin to feel a little abnormal at 200 feet, and decidedly so at 250 feet. Fortunately 250 feet of warm fresh water only produce about as much pressure as 240 of cold sea water. And every foot counts. The queer feelings

7. Article by J.B.S. Haldane, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, to be published in *The Hindu*.



are due to intoxication by nitrogen, which is far from being a "physiologically inert gas" as stated in textbooks of chemistry and physiology. At 300 feet some people have abnormal sensations. "My fingers feel like bananas", is a typical note. I do not, but strange words come into my mind, and if I did not exercise self-control, I might suppose that they were spoken by supernatural beings.

Much more serious is the failure of performance. When I was working on this question we tested ourselves and would be divers in compressed air before we tried anything out under water. Among other things we tested the capacity of people to drop steel balls into holes, and to do four-figure multiplications. Not only did people break down on tests of manual skill, but they broke down morally and cheated. My wife was the only person out of a number tested who could do arithmetic normally at 250 feet, and even she certainly showed signs of mental upset. Very often people lost their tempers or began playing childish practical jokes. I could seldom remember to do all of a series of tasks, for example, administering a test to another person, taking samples of air, reading thermometers, and so on. There are great differences in individual susceptibility, as there are in susceptibility to alcohol. So the first thing to do is to test the divers whom it is intended to use, and pick out those who are least upset by nitrogen.

It is possible however to avoid this danger by using a mixture of oxygen and some other gas. Only two gases need be considered, helium and hydrogen. If a mixture of oxygen with either of these gases is breathed, the symptoms which I have described, due to breathing air, disappear at once. However these mixtures are not without danger, and have killed at least one man. A mixture of about 97 volumes of hydrogen with three of oxygen is quite safe to breathe at 250 feet, and is not liable to explode. But it will not support life at the surface, and the process of switching over from this mixture to air, and back again, must be practised with very great care.

I consider that if the work is to start in three weeks, as is stated in the press, it is very dangerous to attempt to use such mixtures, unless the Indian Navy has already done so. When I use the phrase "very dangerous" I mean that E.M. Case and I, who were the first to breathe hydrogen-air and hydrogen-oxygen mixture at high pressures, were none the worse. The third, a Swedish engineer called Zetterstrom, was killed through a mechanical failure.

The immediate effect of the nitrogen in air, when breathed at high pressure, is to cause one to make silly mistakes which may cost one's life. The other effects are equally serious. All the time that one is breathing air at high pressure nitrogen is dissolving in one's blood and passing from it into other tissues. When one comes up, bubbles of nitrogen may form in any of a number of tissues. The commonest place is probably in the small blood vessels of the

skin, where they merely cause itching. The next commonest is the joints, where they cause temporary, and in my experience, not very severe pain. If they are formed in the nervous system this is permanently damaged, as I know to my cost.

The way to avoid these bubbles is, first, to go down quick. The descent to 250 feet should not take over two minutes. A competent but not very expert diver like myself can easily do it in that time. Perhaps ten or twelve men could do it in one minute. The moment his work is done, the diver should ascent to about 110 feet. If he goes higher, he is in danger of bubble formation; if lower, he continues to absorb nitrogen which he will have to get rid of later. After this he gradually ascends to the surface, stopping every ten or twenty feet. Time tables for such ascents were first worked out by my father about 1908, but have of course been somewhat modified. He did not calculate time tables at greater depths than 200 feet. But the time for the various stages of ascent, after only 15 minutes spent in descent and on the bottom at 250 feet, would be about 90 minutes.

Dives to 300 feet and more were made possible by Sir Robert Davis' invention of the submerged decompression chamber. This is a steel chamber let down by a cable, with a hole in the bottom through which a diver enters, and room for another man. This is lowered to a depth of 60 feet or more, and can then be hauled up to the surface, and the pressure in it lowered by steps. When it reaches that corresponding to 60 feet of sea water the diver begins breathing oxygen. In consequence nitrogen leaves his blood about four times as quickly as if he were breathing air. After a 15 minute dive to 250 feet decompression would only last for another 33 minutes, and after an hour's dive, only 172 minutes. I do not know whether the Indian Navy possesses such a chamber. If not, it would in my opinion be criminal folly to try to use it after only a fortnight's practice.

Now let me point out a very serious danger. Some American firms have a lot of helium to sell. They state, truly enough that mental confusion at great depths disappears when the diver breathes a mixture of oxygen and helium instead of air. They do not, or at any rate did not, state that it increases the risk of bubble formation. It does. After breathing air at pressures corresponding to 300 feet on several occasions, and decompressing without harm on a certain time table, I repeated this after breathing a helium-oxygen mixture. Not only did I get bends, but the nerve supply from the area of the body on which I sit down was so far damaged that I am unhappy, after 19 years, on a hard chair without a cushion.

If the divers are going to have to enter dark tunnels it would be better to make a model of these tunnels, flood it with ten feet or so of water, and practise



moving about in it. However good your light, you may not be able to see far if you stir up mud. My last dive of this type was in a submerged cave. I went down to the bottom of a pool about nine feet deep, then head first down a shaft for another nine feet or so, and thirdly along a horizontal passage much too narrow to allow me to turn. Finally I entered a large and very beautiful underwater hall, and crawled up a narrow crack to an air-filled part of the cave. The boys who had invited me down came behind me, so I got a good view, while they could see little because of the mud I kicked up. It may be that men or women with experience of this sort are needed at Bhakra.

According to press reports the Minister stated that "expert divers would have to go 250 feet below the water surface." He did not state whether any such exist in India. Unless a diver has spent at least 24 hours at depths of 250 or over, even if he has spent a long time at 50 to 100 feet, he is not an expert. He can no more expect to work efficiently or even safely at 250 feet than a man who has practised sailing at Naini Tal can be expected to sail a boat to Minicoy with safety.

The Indian Naval diving school is at Cochin, where the opportunities for deep diving are small. I was invited to visit it earlier in the year; but as a programme intended to last over two days included under two hours at the diving school, but numerous visits to other establishments to which I could be of no value, and at least one public speech to a non-official body, I decided that my visit would be a waste of public money, and declined the invitation. I am of course at the disposal of the Navy if they want my advice. There are plenty of younger men with more recent experience in other countries, probably including Japan. I very much hope that someone with the necessary experience will be called in. If not I fear that there may be some more deaths at the Bhakra Dam.

## 8. Krishna Menon to Nehru<sup>8</sup>

*[Refer to item 124]*

Understand German problem is the crux of Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Russians appear deadly serious about forthcoming meeting. Khrushchev sent Macmillan his plan about Germany as top secret proposal which is that there should be peace treaties with the two Germanys separately guaranteed by both sides not to interfere in West or East Germany. Division of Berlin remains. Russians will guarantee that they will not seek to communise West Berlin. A

8. Telegram No.2020, 13 September 1959.

clause to be introduced into the peace treaties that both Governments will work for German unification. Macmillan asked whether contents may be communicated to Eisenhower to which Khrushchev appears to have said that he did not ask for it but it was a matter for Macmillan's discretion, but in any event it was to go us further. In this rather high level matter however a small complication seems to have arisen because a tabloid paper believed to be close to Tory circles published some colourful information about this and in reply to Soviet Ambassador's expression of disapproval he was told that leakage was from circles close to the Ambassador. He is particularly chagrined about this because he had kept the matter very close to himself. However most serious thing appears to be Adenauer had already put his foot out against it.

2. There appeared to be much concern in Malik's stand about Sino-Indian position. He appeared to know little facts. Malik being an old friend and close to high Soviet circles I explained our position and the embarrassment that China had caused to us, the state of our public opinion and how it affected the tensions in Asia. He was deeply concerned and no doubt will say something about this to Moscow. I made it quite clear that we could not possibly countenance Chinese demands but that we have always spoken about peaceful negotiations on boundary adjustments which was normal. Malik said Chou En-lai's recent letter was conciliatory. I said not so in substance. It is my impression that that letter was the result of Soviet advice to be conciliatory.

3. I also asked about China and their disarmament talks. Briefly his reaction was that Russia considered that China will be reasonable. He was not at all sure whether the West wanted any agreement. The Russians are however putting comprehensive proposals which he said would be difficult for you, meaning us, not to support. Asked for our views, I told him that we would be gratified with any effort towards relaxation of tensions wherever they came from.

4. He expressed Russia's great dissatisfaction about the attitude taken in the Security Council on Laos and said "Our view is that two major agreements have been flouted on the eve of Khrushchev's visit." I do not see any intention on their part to resile from the position they have taken in regard to the Geneva Agreements. I found Malik a little concerned that those things had been done just when Khrushchev was going to America.

5. An entirely another matter. Russia is concerned that the rest of the Indian northern border now under Pak occupation so remains, and speaking for himself he thought that the occupation of this territory by Pakistan would be the real trouble for us and for them and to China. I said that all this was part of the Kashmir problem and China's intervention on India had only aggravated it. For my own information I would like to know if Khrushchev directly or



indirectly mentions these matters to me in New York and of his intention in assisting to find a way out without offering to mediate, should I avoid such an occasion? I shall be grateful if the advice is strictly your own and remains so. If any action comes out of it I will do so on my own responsibility and not involve you. The matter appears to be too serious for one not to take responsibilities. I hope you can send me a brief reply marked personal to me in New York.

## 9. Homi Bhabha to Nehru<sup>9</sup>

*[Refer to item 76]*

Bombay

September 19, 1959

My dear Bhai,

In continuation of my letter No.DAE/Per-PJN/4068 of September 10, 1959, regarding our proposal to hold exploratory talks with the United States' Atomic Energy Commission for collaboration in the field of atomic energy, I enclose herewith a copy of a letter just received from the U.S. Consul General in Bombay.

I have sent copies of this letter to Shri V.T. Krishnamachari and also to Shri CM. Trivedi.

I received a phone call from the Planning Commission yesterday morning informing me that the Finance Ministry was unable to clear our proposal in the absence of the Finance Minister, and suggesting our putting off the talks to a later date. I pointed out that I had to be in America in any case in October, and would be travelling at the expense of the United Nations, and to make another trip later would involve unnecessary travel and expenditure.

Later Shri V.T. Krishnamachari rang me up and explained that the Finance Ministry felt that as part of our proposal involved a long term loan from the U.S. Government on the lines of the U.S.-Euratom agreement, it would come within the ceiling of the loans which the Finance Minister was to discuss in Washington, and that, for this reason, the Finance Ministry was of the view that the matter should be deferred. I pointed out to Shri V.T. Krishnamachari that although the U.S.-Euratom agreement covered a long term loan from the United States to Euratom for covering the cost of the nuclear part of the power stations which would be supplied by the U.S., it was not considered as aid to Europe but as a joint collaborative effort which would benefit both sides, and to which both sides made their respective contributions. The type of idea we had in our

9. Letter. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS.

mind was an agreement on similar lines and which should not, therefore, come within the heading of general economic aid from the U.S. to India. I pointed out further that, in any case, our talks were to be of a purely exploratory nature without any commitment, financial or otherwise. They were intended to see whether any technical or economic basis for collaboration existed, without which we could not put up any proposal for Government's consideration.

He also raised the point about clearance with the External Affairs Ministry and I informed him that the matter had already been so cleared, and not only had I discussed the proposal with you at our last meeting, but both Thapar and I had discussed it with the Secretary General, and I with the Foreign Secretary, and it was at the latter's instance that the Charge of the American Embassy in New Delhi was asked to see me. We have, in fact, had general talks on the matter with the American Ambassador, Mr. Bunker, with your knowledge several months ago, and reports have been submitted to you on these talks.

Shri Krishnamachari thought there was no objection to our having technical talks, but I pointed out to him that a discussion of the technical side without consideration of the economic side would be unsatisfactorily incomplete, and that we would have to discuss the economic side also, but as mentioned above, without any financial or other commitment of any sort. We will, of course, keep our Ambassador in the U.S. and B.K. Nehru informed. Unless I hear from you to the contrary I will assume that our proposed action has your approval.

Hectic and tiring as your visit to Afghanistan and Iran must be, I trust the temporary respite from our internal problems will have been refreshing.

Yours affectionately,  
Homi Bhabha

## 10. Krishna Menon to Nehru<sup>10</sup>

*[Refer to item 119]*

Since the beginning of the Assembly, and no doubt the placing of the Tibetan item on the Agenda of the Assembly has been canvassed in the delegations. Initially it appeared that no delegation would take the initiative though some apparently offered to support. The names now mentioned are Ireland and Malaya. Malaya apparently said they would not initiate. Ireland has since then been

10. Telegram No. 216, New York, 27 September 1959. File No.5 (28)-UN-II/59, pp.4-8/ corr., MEA.



active. The drafted a resolution several days ago and had it shown it to many delegations. We have seen a copy of this through Aiken spoke to me did not refer to the resolution. For your information, a copy of this resolution which is still not on the table and therefore "Secret" is sent in the immediately following telegram, by code.

3. It has been noted by the supporters, probably abstainers and those who are in opposition that the resolution is sought to be based upon the Charter, the Declaration of Human Rights and it has specific reference to Article 73 which places any issue on the basis of being a non-self governing territory. Attention has also been focussed both by supporters and opponents on reaffirming clause (No.6).

4. It cannot be said that there have been the usual informal discussions by the Irish with us perhaps because they knew India's position. A good many delegates originally, including the Commonwealth countries, and I believe, the U.S. and certainly most of the Asian countries, had said that India is the most concerned and appropriate party and they must see what we do. There is no doubt that resolution will get Western support especially as Herter has mentioned at an off-the-record Press Conference that he hoped a resolution would be put down.

5. Aiken saw me by appointment. I stated our position contained in your statement in Parliament on September 5. Dayal also had talks with the Irish much on the same basis. We have drawn attention to all aspects in your statement, our feelings about Tibet, the cold war and other issues and also our objection to condemnation on the one hand and to the involving of other Charter issues in this question and of making the situation part of a cold war debate. Neither they nor anyone else is in doubt as to all repeat all these aspects. The answer of the Irish was that they would urge restraint in debate though of course they themselves admit that once the item is in the Assembly they can do nothing more about it.

6. The Irish argument is that when they support other human rights issues like Indians in South Africa and Algeria, how would they refrain from raising Tibet.

7. Pierson Dixon had talks with Jha and Dayal and he gave them to understand that the UK shared our feelings and had put these points to Herter. Dixon mentioned that Herter was impressed. The American delegation has, however, advocated the placing of the resolution.

8. Casey ascertained our position from Dayal and enquired whether the Americans had been informed about it and volunteered to speak to Herter. We have neither asked him nor objected to his doing so.

9. Kuznetsov saw me twice for longish periods and requested Russian

views to be conveyed "urgently" and very precisely to the Government when I told him that this was a matter that should be decided in Delhi. His position was they took very serious view of the matter now repeat now even more than before. It was not merely a question of China and Tibet any more, but the American desire or willingness to permit the promotion of cold war debates by proxy. They felt that in any event in the context of their Prime Minister's approach to world issues and his visit here the effort was most objectionable. The Russian view about the role we should be able to play is to vote against the resolution whatever we said in speeches. They seemed to assume that we would take this view having regard to the prospects of some lessening of world tensions. He kept on repeating that his Government felt sure that the Prime Minister would give priority of consideration to world issues and the lowering of tensions and have regard to the Khrushchev-Eisenhower visit. He pointedly recalled that KHRUSHCHEV'S first break into the outside world was India and reference to "your Prime Minister's effective initiative." He regarded as most tragic that there should be a cold war debate. I told him that whatever views the Russian Government had were more appropriately taken up in Delhi or Moscow. He pointed out, as others have done, that there would be a large number of abstentions especially if our vote was an abstention or non-participation position and the resolution would thus be carried by two-thirds majority on the basis of abstentions, which he felt was not what we wished nor in the interests or the Asian-African position here. He therefore earnestly canvassed our vote although he said our and their first attempt must be to prevent the item coming up. Apparently he spoke to the Irish more than once without success and the Irish are the only delegation taking any initiative.

10. In the course of conversation an important member of the American delegation to whom I said what I have said to everybody else, namely, our position as stated in your speech, asked why their Ambassador in Delhi has not been so informed and added that the American representatives in Delhi have got a different impression from our Ministry. I said that our policy had been stated in Parliament by the Prime Minister and his response was that it was only a public statement in Parliament, and their Embassy there had been informed otherwise. (He does not want to be quoted to his people in Delhi). Naturally I would not pursue this argument but I have since compared my remarks to him with the note you recorded after your talk with Winthrop Brown on August 20. In it I find no reason for the above suggestion.

11. Among the delegations who have instructions to propose, of which we have so far been informed, are Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia and Nepal. It is believed that some Arabs may do the same (those who recognise China). Ghana and Indonesia came and pressed me for our position, and they were quite firm about



theirs and hoped that we and the Asian-African non-Western members would, in what they termed "a very key situation" not be found on the side of cold war. I believe they are canvassing others. We have, however, refrained from canvassing or indulging in a general or casual discussions and have largely responded to questions.

12. The Russians want to see me again tomorrow after Kuznetsov comes back from Khrushchev—Washington.

13. The Irish appear to have made an all round canvassing for co-sponsors. Among the Asians, Malaya alone has been willing so far. Mexicans inform us on their own initiative that they been approached and that they turned down Ireland with strong advice to them not to proceed with the resolution being not interests of the organisation and the present cold war position. The Mexican Ambassador requested this to be conveyed to you. I believe however Latins like EL Salvador and Dominican Republic may join. In any event co-sponsorship is not of significance in present context. There are reports that Norway or Netherlands may co-sponsor.

14. One resolution of the Tibetan issue for which the Chinese Government have to thank themselves is that the China lobby has now become a Tibetan lobby with Chiang Kai-shek forces fully turned out on this pretext.

15. We gather that the proposal is to deal with the questions in open session in plenary as in the Hungarian case. It will probably take several days of debate.

16. The text of resolution as telegraphed has not come to us through an accredited channel and therefore may not be released from our side although in a day or two it may be published. We also understand that there was some suggestion for deleting the condemnation clause and one or two others which are constitutionally improper but these suggestions we understand have not found acceptance. We have not discussed the resolution with anyone. Unless you so instruct it would be unwise for us to get involved in specific suggestions.

17. There are persistent rumours here that Mr. & Mrs. Kripalani and other Indian representatives are coming here in connection with this case. Dalai Lama's representatives are not on the scene yet.

18. The Burmese Ambassador said that Burma would not support any move to raise Tibet and was only embarrassed by it. Whether he will oppose or not will depend on instructions which in turn will depend on India's final attitude. He informed me he was very much distressed and seemed angry that the Americans had sent a telegram to his Government complaining that he was canvassing. It is my impression that this cannot be true because he like ourselves has been very reticent and reserved but has at the same time not responded to pressures the other way.

19. At least two Assembly votes will arise apart from any amendments.

One is on inscription and the other on the resolution. If decision is that we neither vote for or against then we can either abstain or record a vote of non-participation. The latter is regarded as more neutral vote. Even two days ago the U.K. recorded such a vote on some issue and we have done same in the past. Here is also question whether we vote differently on inscription and resolution. One can abstain on one and cast a vote against or of non-participation on the other. This is not unusual and some may do this.

20. The Asian-African countries and some of the Latins are looking to us for a firmer indication of our position. Both in the light of our known views, and fact that there will be a large number of affirmative votes enough to create a two-thirds majority in view of abstentions they are perturbed as they do not desire a resolution passed even if a debate takes place.  
Grateful for guidance and instructions.

## 11. Krishna Menon to Nehru<sup>11</sup>

*[Refer to item 119]*

Reference my immediately preceding telegram No.216 dated the 27th September. Text of Irish draft Resolution on Tibet follows:

Begins:

“Recalling the principles set forth in the Preamble and in articles 1.3,13. 1(B), 5(C), 56 and 73 of the Charter as well as in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

2. Considering that fundamental human rights proclaimed in the said Declaration include the Right to Religious and Civil Liberty for all without distinction;

3. Mindful also of the guarantees of aspect for the Political, Religious and other Liberties of the People of Tibet contained in an Agreement dated 23rd May, 1951 between the representatives of the People's Republic of China and representatives of Tibet;

4. Deploing recent events in Tibet as a result of which the people of Tibet have been deprived of these Liberties in violation of their fundamental Human Rights and of the guarantees afforded them;

11. Telegram No. 217, New York, 27 September 1959. File No.5 (28)-UN-II/59, pp.4-8/corr., MEA.



5. Deplores further effect of these events in increasing international tension and embittering relations between peoples;

6. Reaffirms the right of dependent peoples of respect for their culture, just treatment and protection against abuses, and

7. Condemns the violation of the fundamental Human Rights of the Tibetan People and the destruction of their Civil and Religious Liberties." Ends.

## 12. S.M. Shrinagesh to Nehru<sup>12</sup>

*[Refer to item 21]*

Hyderabad  
September 29, 1959

My dear Pandit Ji,

At the invitation of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Home Minister, I called on him at his residence in Delhi on Sunday, 27th September. He told me that the Government wished me to take over as Governor of Assam as early as possible. I said that this was a very great honour which I am proud to accept. I requested, however, that I might be given at least a fortnight before I could take over these responsibilities.

As you know on my retirement as Chief of Army Staff in May, 1957, I was invited to head the new Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad. My principalship of the College is on a five-year contract till 1962 but provides for a notice of six months on either side if it is to terminate earlier. In view of the emergency, however, I shall ask the Court of Governors to release me at much shorter notice.

Unfortunately, Dr. John Matthai, Chairman of the Court of Governors, is now lying seriously ill in Bombay. Dr. C.D. Deshmukh has been invited to succeed him and he has agreed. In these circumstances, therefore, after my meeting with the Home Minister, I met Dr. Deshmukh. He appreciated the position and has agreed to relieve me. An emergency meeting of the Court of Governors has been called to meet in Delhi on October 3rd and to regularise this.

I shall be in Delhi to attend this meeting, after which, I would like to return to Hyderabad to hand over charge formally to my successor here. I expect, therefore to be back in Delhi on October 8th with my family and await your further instructions.

Meanwhile, though I have kept the matter strictly confidential, speculation

12. File No. 1/3/59, pp. 7-8, President's Secretariat.

is likely to follow my interview with the Home Minister. The Member of the Court of Governors of the College has to be taken into confidence at the meeting on October 3. It would, therefore, save some embarrassment both the Government and to me if an early announcement of my appointment is given to the Press. You will appreciate the reason which prompts me to suggest this.

My address in Delhi will be:

Care Shri K.R. Puri,

12, Friends Colony,

Mathura Road, New Delhi. Tele. No. 33845.

I feel very greatly honoured by the invitation to take over this exalted office and I am most grateful to you, Sir, and to the Government for this expression of your confidence and trust in me.

I realise the urgency of the situation and shall be readily to take over as soon after October 8th as you decide.

With my respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

S.M. Shrinagesh



## GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
AP	Andhra Pradesh
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Benares	Varanasi
Bombay city	Mumbai
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Chou En-lai	Zhou En-lai
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSWB	Central Social Welfare Board
CWC	Congress Working Committee
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOI	Government of India
GP	Ganatantra Parishad
HAL	Hindustan Aeronautics Limited
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IFAS	Indian Frontier Administrative Service
INC	Indian National Congress
ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
JNMF	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Jullundhur	Jalandhar
Kasi	Varanasi
<i>Lok Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Lok Sabha Debates</i> (Second Series) Vol. 34, 1959 [August 31 to September 12, 1959], Eighth Session, 1959 (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, n.d. [1959]).
Madras city	Chennai
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
Mao Tse-tung	Mao Zedong
Maund	unit of weight, about 38 kilograms
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of WHS	Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply
MJP	Mahagujarat Janata Parishad
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Madhya Pradesh/Member of Parliament
Nadirshahi	Dictatorial
NAI	National Archives of India
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North-East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Orissa	Odisha
PDA	Preventive Detention Act
Peking	Beijing
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PS	Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
<i>Rajya Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Rajya Sabha, Official Report</i> , Vol. 26 (28th August 1959 to 11th September 1959) (New Delhi: Rajya Sabha Secretariat, n.d. [1959]).
SG	Secretary General, MEA
SRC	States Reorganisation Commission



STC	State Trading Corporation
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
TASS	<i>Telegrafnoe Agentsvo Sovetskogo Soiuza</i>
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations/United Nations Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UP	Uttar Pradesh
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<i>White Paper I</i>	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper</i> (n.p., n.d) [New Delhi, 1959].
<i>White Paper II</i>	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China September-November 1959 and A Note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India, White Paper No. II</i> (n.p., n.d) [New Delhi, 1959].
Wu-je	Barahoti





## INDEX

- Abor, 224-225  
 Achar, K.R., 244  
 Acharya, Snehangshu Kumar, 134  
 Adenauer, Konard, (SWJN/SS/28/p. 570), 322  
 Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, 329  
 Afghanistan, 11, 26-27, 53, 55, 81, 164, 203, 257-258, 261-266, 286, 288-290, 324; Amir of, *see* Khan, Amanullah; Government of, 264; King of, *see* Shah, Mohammad Zahir; National Assembly of, 264  
 Africa, 258-260, 262, 277  
 Agarwal, Shriman Narayan, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 485), 138  
 Agra, 269  
 Ahmad, Z.A., (SWJN/FS/7/p.647), 187  
 Ahmedabad, 2, 155-156  
 AICC, 55, 59, 64-65, 67, 72, 74, 79;  
 Aiken, Frank, 325  
 Aitchison, C.U., 223  
 Akas, 224  
 Aksai Chin, 167, 180, 201, 212, 215, 217, 219, 225, 227, 307  
 Algeria, 27, 325  
 All India Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, 247  
 Allahabad, 144  
 American Revolution, 274  
 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 94  
 Andhra Pradesh, 129, 141  
 Andriveau-Coujon, 225  
 Ansari, Masud, 298  
 Anthony, Frank, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 211), 25, 128, 131  
 Aram, Abbas, 268, 297  
 Ari, 220  
 Arslan, Saadet, 9  
 Arunachal Pradesh State Archives, 9  
 Asia, 241, 258-260, 262, 267-269, 270-273, 289, 300, 322; Central, 193, 203; South-East, 256, 303  
 Asoka, 193  
 Assam, 19, 81-82, 215, 224-245, 329; Government of, 81, 172  
 Assam Rifles, 173  
 Assar, Premjibhai Ranchhoddas, 154, 157  
 Atomic Energy Commission, 155  
 Atomic Power Stations, 155  
 Australia, 237  
 Avro Aircraft, 22  
 Awasthi, Jagdish, 90, 121-122  
 Ayyangar, M. Ananthasayanam, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 81), 90-91, 106, 108-110, 113, 121-123, 156-157  
 Ayyangar, N. Gopalaswami, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 248), 115-116  
 Azerbaijan, 298  
 Babar, 289

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Baghdad Pact, 287, 298  
 Baig, Tara Ali, (SWJN/SS/48/p. 368), 153  
 Bailey, K.M., 225  
 Balipara Frontier Tract, 224  
 Bandaranaike, S.W.R.D., (SWJN/SS/26/p. 506), 56, 302  
 Bandung Conference, 13, 26, 72, 262  
 Banerjee, B.K., 92  
 Banerjee, S.M., (SWJN/SS/43/p. 119), 90  
 Banerji, S.K., 120  
 Bangalore, 22  
 Bangar, Ravi, 117  
 Banthra (UP), 141  
 Bara Hoti, 179, 200-201, 212, 217  
 Barua, Hem, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 67), 108-109, 131, 172, 177, 204, 210, 250  
 Basu, Jyoti, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 168), 134  
 Beijing, *see* Peking  
 Bell, Charles Alfred, 226  
 Benares, *see* Varanasi  
 Benediktov, I.A., 145, 309  
 Berlin, 321  
 Bevan, Aneurin, (SWJN/SS/12/p. 161), 51  
 Bhabha, Homi J., (SWJN/FS/13/p. 536), 156, 159, 323  
 Bhakra Control Board, 83  
 Bhakra Dam, 74, 76, 83, 144, 318, 321  
 Bhakt Darshan, (SWJN/SS/33/p. 577), 120  
 Bhandarkar, K.Y., 119  
 Bharat Sewak Samaj, 29  
 Bhattacharya, C.K., (SWJN/SS/19/p. 611), 202  
 Bhattacharyya, D.G., 134  
 Bharatiya Jan Sangh, 25  
 Bhutan, 14-15, 171, 186, 200, 206, 212, 215, 223-224, 226, 228, 244-245, 250-255, 312-313; Government of, 226, 250, 252-255  
 Bihar, 136, 141  
 Bombay City, 2, 25, 53, 78, 82, 99, 155-156, 161, 205, 247, 329  
 Bombay State, 1-4, 53, 78, 94, 96-98, 141  
 Borale, P.T., 146  
 Borooah, P.C., 81, 154, 156, 175-176  
 Brecher, Michael, (SWJN/SS/33/p. 512), 147  
 British Council in India, 294  
 Brown, Winthrop, 326  
 Brussels, 160  
 Buddha, Gautama, 302  
 Bunker, Ellsworth, (SWJN/SS/45/p. 708), 293  
 Burma, 186, 190-191, 200, 212, 227, 233, 244, 288, 327  
 Cabinet, 64, 118; Defence Committee of, 115; Foreign Affairs Committee of, 118  
 Cabral, J.F.C., 117  
 Calcutta, 25, 34, 40, 53, 56, 90-96, 143, 161, 237;  
 Calcutta High Court, 134  
 Cambay, 308  
 Cambodia, 256  
 Camp David, 73  
 Canada, 141, 155, 288  
 Canada-India reactor (Trombay), 155  
 Capitalism, 63, 274



- Casey, R.G., 325  
 Cayley, Henry, 219  
 Central Treaty Organisation, 287  
 Central Committee on Community Development and Cooperation, 136  
 Central Social Welfare Board, 2, 20  
 Central Water and Power Commission, 156  
 Ceylon, 56, 302  
 Chagla, M.C., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 347), 135  
 Chakma, U., 9  
 Chakrabarty, Saroj, 138  
 Chakravartty, Renu, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 335), 91, 175  
 Chaliha, B.P., (SWJN/SS/10/p. 369), 250  
 Chamberlain, Arthur Neville, 210  
 Chandigarh, 53, 55, 59, 64-65, 72, 74, 85-87, 119  
 Chaudhary, Ram Narayan, (SWJN/SS/44/p. 144), 29, 35-40, 45-49, 147  
 Chaudhuri, Tridib Kumar, (SWJN/SS/29/p. 397), 91  
 Chavan, Y.B., (SWJN/SS/43/p. 78), 2, 4, 76, 78, 99, 161  
 Chekiang, 312  
 Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, 160  
 Cheshire, Leonard, (SWJN/SS/42/p. 276), 291  
 Chiang Kai-shek, (SWJN/FS/10/p. 74), 327  
 Chief Secretaries' Conference, 19, 163  
 China, People's Republic of, 1, 5, 7-8, 10-16, 20, 24-25, 28, 53, 58, 72-73, 113-114, 120, 166, 168, 170-171, 175, 179, 181-184, 187, 190-191, 193, 196, 199-201, 205-208, 210-213, 216, 218-220, 225-227, 230-239, 241-243, 245-246, 252, 254-255, 257, 286, 291, 293, 306, 309-315, 322, 326, 328; Consulates of, 25; Embassy of, 25; Government of, 11, 166, 168, 170-171, 178, 181, 183-187, 189, 192-194, 207-208, 216-220, 222-223, 226-227, 232-234, 236-239, 242-243, 245-246, 248-249, 254-255, 292, 304-307, 310-316, 327; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of, 189, 304; North East of, 292; People's Liberation Army of, 305  
 Chinese Revolution, 10, 182  
 China Inland Mission, 225  
*China Pictorial*, 13-14  
 Chini, 172  
 Chou En-lai, (SWJN/SS/15 pt I/p. 118), 5, 7, 9-12, 15, 53, 181, 186-187, 189-192, 196, 199-200, 202, 206-208, 213-216, 232, 234, 238-240, 305, 309, 316, 322  
 Chuje, 314  
 Chushul, 211-212  
 ChuVa, 314  
 Cochín, 321  
 Colombo, 56  
 Columbia Broadcasting System, 135  
 Commonwealth Relations Office (London), 51  
 Communism, 9, 63, 205-206, 239, 274, 286-287  
 Communist Party of India, 12, 53, 55, 96, 134, 157; Central Executive Committee of, 53;  
 Communist Party of India (Marxist),

- 134
- Congress, Indian National, 2, 14, 21, 51, 53, 57-58, 62, 67, 79, 94; Sub-Committee on Planning of, 65; Parliamentary Party of, 141; Chandigarh session of, 3, 52-53, 65, 74, 119, 231; report of the Planning Sub-Committee of, 61; Sub-Committee's report on planning of, 59
- Congress Working Committee, 3, 52
- Constitution, 97-99, 106, 125, 127, 184, 209, 230, 246,
- Cooke, C.F., 116, 118
- Costa Rica, 293
- Cunningham, Alexander, 218-219, 311
- D'Souza, J.M., (SWJN/SS/2/p. 560), 97
- Dacca, 17, 19, 164
- Dadra and Nagar Heveli, 117
- Daflas, 224
- Daftary, Matin, 281-282, 284-285
- Dalai Lama, (SWJN/SS/16 pt II/p. 647), 23, 194, 209, 218, 232, 235, 237-238, 240, 327
- Daman and Diu, 97
- Dange, S.A., (SWJN/FS/4/p. 564), 209, 211
- Darjeeling, 223
- Darporijo, 9
- Das, S.R., (SWJN/SS/38/p. 130), 150
- Das, Seth Govind, (SWJN/FS/7/p. 660), 124, 130
- DAV College, 137
- Davis, Robert, 320
- Dayal, Rajeshwar, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 573), 162, 325
- De Gaulle, Charles, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 275), 27
- Deasy, H.H., 219
- Dehra Dun, 309
- Delhi, 17-19, 25, 53, 55, 64, 78, 82-83, 86, 92, 95-96, 109, 119, 144, 159, 196, 199, 231, 238, 250-252, 286, 288-289, 293, 312, 326, 329-330; Municipal Corporation of, 78
- Demchok, 220
- Deo, P.K., 210
- Desai, M.J., (SWJN/SS/4/p. 155), 145, 162, 164
- Desai, Morarji, (SWJN/FS/13/p. 5), 3, 52, 76, 116, 118, 159-160
- Deshmukh, C.D., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 635), 329
- Deshmukh, Panjabrao, (SWJN/SS/5/p. 368), 136-137
- Devi, Maitraye, 149-150
- Dexheimer, W.A., 83
- Dey, S.K., (SWJN/SS/6/p. 96), 136
- Dhage, V.K., 97-98, 154, 166, 168-169
- Dhebar, U.N., (SWJN/SS/17/p. 406), 57
- Dickie, *see* Mountbatten, Louis
- Dibhang Valley, 225
- Dichu Valley, 227
- Dixon, Pierson, (SWJN/SS/37/p. 399), 325
- Dominican Republic, 327
- Dorji, Jigme Palden, 252
- Dras, 308
- Drew, Fredrick, 219-220, 307-308
- Dutt, Subimal, (SWJN/SS/7/p. 644), 96, 99-100, 145, 205, 213-214,



- 250-251, 324  
 Dwivedy, Surendranath, (SWJN/SS/43/p. 347), 172  
 East Germany, 321  
 East India Company, 219, 311  
 Eaton, Cyrus, S., 160  
 Eghbal, Manuchehr, 266, 268  
 Eisenhower, Dwight, D., (SWJN/FS/14/p. 28), 2, 23, 73, 261, 264-265, 287, 291, 299, 321-322, 326  
 El Salvador, 237, 327  
 Elias, Muhammed, 92  
 Embassy (India) at The Hague, 117; in China , 166, 305  
 Embassy (USA) at New Delhi, 327  
 Enovid, 151  
 Ernakulam, 170  
 Europe, 62, 131, 267, 269-273, 277, 284, 300, 323; Western, 65, 71  
 Family Planning, 151  
 Farhad, Ahmad, 269-270, 278, 281  
 Firghana, 289  
 Five Year Plan, Second, 138; Third, 57-58, 61-62, 67, 69, 155, 279, 308  
 Formosa, 237  
 France, 27, 154, 158, 275-276, 278, 291  
 French Revolution, 274  
 Gadgil, N.V., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 68), 83, 144  
 Gandhi, Indira, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 232), 3, 14, 51, 79, 89, 100, 288, 290  
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 31, 33, 37-38, 44, 49, 62, 146-147, 183, 198, 200, 259  
 Gandhigram, 148  
 Ganges, 215, 223  
 Gangtok, 167, 237, 255  
 Gardiner, Gerald, 116-118  
 Gazi Stadium, 262  
 Geneva, 52, 248  
 Geneva Agreement, 15-16, 256, 303  
 Geological Survey of India, 308  
 Germany, Federal Republic of, 274-275, 291  
 Ghana, 326  
 Gnat, 120  
 Goa, 96-99; Government of, 97  
 Goan National Union, 97  
 Goan Political Convention, 99  
 Gobi desert, 237  
 Goray, N.G., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 388), 178-179, 206  
 Gour, R.B., (SWJN/SS/18/p. 193), 295-296  
 Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, 307  
 Guggenheim, M., 117  
 Guinea, 293, 326  
 Gujarat, 2-3, 53, 94  
 Gulbahar textile mills, 264  
 Gulkhana, 81  
 Gupta, Bhupesh, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 335), 98  
 Gupta, Ram Krishan, 154, 157  
 Gya Khanche, 176  
 Gyantse, 232, 242-243  
 Habibullah, Ibrahim, 119-120  
 Hague, The, 117, 236  
 Haji Langar, 228  
 Haldane, J.B.S., (SWJN/SS/25/p.

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 265), 143-144, 318
- Hanoi, 256
- Hanumanthaiya, K., (SWJN/SS/14 pt. I/p. 496), 57
- Hayward, George, 219
- Heda, H.C., (SWJN/SS/44/p. 166), 51-52, 136
- Herald*, 220
- Herter, Christian A., 325
- High Commission (India) in UK, 117-118
- Himachal Pradesh, 172, 203, 212, 220, 226; Government of, 172
- Himalayas, 191, 203, 214, 224
- Hindu, The*, 55, 59, 65, 72, 74, 144, 148, 285, 302, 318
- Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd., 22, 120, 152
- Hindustan Times, The*, 53, 78, 83, 154, 170, 250, 293
- Hitler, Adolf, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 477), 210
- Hong Kong, 187, 207
- Howrah, 90, 92-94
- Huber, Toni, 9
- Hungary, 246
- Ibrahim, Hafiz Mohammad, (SWJN/SS/41/p. 845), 79, 144, 318
- Indian Army, 119-120, 165
- Indian Navy, 256, 319-320
- India Office Library, 163
- Indian Council for Child Welfare, 153
- Indian National Defence Academy, 119
- Indian Red Cross Society, 78
- Indian Statistical Institute (Calcutta), 143, 318; Biometric Research Unit of, 143
- Indo-Afghan Society, 264
- Indo-British Cultural Relations, 294
- Indo-Iranian Association, 281
- Indo-Iranian Society, 285
- Indo-Nepali Treaty, 249
- Indonesia, 326
- International Botanical Congress, 141
- International Commission for Supervision and Control (Armistice Agreement in Indo-China), 303
- International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos, 303
- International Institute of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (Halle), 9
- International Commission of Jurists' Legal Inquiry Committee, 248
- International Court of Justice (The Hague), 117, 236
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (Warsaw), 167, 168
- Iran, 11, 26-28, 53, 55, 149, 257, 266-270, 273, 279-282, 284, 286, 288, 297-298, 324; Government of, 297-298; Shah of, *see* Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah
- Iraq, 287, 298
- Ireland, 324, 327
- Italy, 154, 158
- Iyer, V.R. Krishna, (SWJN/SS/40/p. 383), 170
- Jammu & Kashmir, 17, 307,
- Jabrulsiraj Cement Factory, 264
- Jadeja, Digvijaysinhji, 237
- Jain, A.P., (SWJN/SS/10/p. 200), 94



- Jalgaon, 250  
 Jamaitul-Ulema-i-Hind (Delhi), 149  
 Jan Sangh, *see* Bharatiya Jan Sangh  
 Japan, 120, 132, 151, 208, 274  
 Jha, C.S., (SWJN/SS/28/p. 129), 325  
 Jind, 86  
 Johnston, Alexander Keith, 220  
 Jubbulpore, 120  
*Jugantar*, 94  
 Jullundhur, 144  
 Jumna, 62
- Kabir, Humayun, (SWJN/SS/18/p. 143), 149  
 Kabul, 11, 79, 81, 115, 159, 257, 262, 264, 288, 299  
 Kairon, Partap Singh, (SWJN/FS/14/p. 75), 52, 85-87, 148  
 Kanpur, 22  
 Kar, Prabhat, 91  
 Karachi, 17-18, 26  
 Kargil, 308  
 Karnataka, *see* Mysore State  
 Karmarkar, D.P., (SWJN/SS/22/p. 338), 151  
 Kashmir, 164, 176-177, 218-219, 245, 307, 311, 322; Durbar of, 308; Government, 180, 307, *see also* Jammu & Kashmir  
 Kashmir, Maharaja of, *see* Singh, Gulab  
 Kaul, B.N., 220  
 Kerala, 55-56, 79, 95, 129, 286  
 Kersondas, Mulraj, (SWJN/SS/30/p. 164), 161  
 Keskar, B.V., (SWJN/FS/11/p. 15), 135  
 Khadilkar, R.K., (SWJN/SS/40/p. 368), 203  
 Kham, 239  
 Khampas, 10, 239; revolt of, 10  
 Khan, Abdur Rezzak, 295  
 Khan, Amanullah, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 186), 289  
 Khan, Mohammad Ayub, (SWJN/SS/19/p. 603), 17, 20, 26, 100, 102, 109, 162, 164-165, 287-288  
 Khan, Mohammed Daud, 262, 264  
 Khera, S.S., (SWJN/SS/30/p. 486), 308  
 Khinzemane, 227, 315  
 Khrushchev, Nikita S., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 220), 27, 73, 159, 234, 261, 264-265, 287, 290, 292, 298-299, 321-322, 326-327  
 Khurnak Fort, 227  
 Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 270), 42, 47  
 Korea, 107, 185  
 Kosambi, D.D., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 620), 180, 214  
 Kripalani, J.B., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 237), 106, 109-112, 130, 198, 205, 209, 327  
 Krishnamachari, V.T., (SWJN/FS/10/p. 412), 323-324  
 Kuen Lun, 219  
 Kunzru, H.N., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 270), 184-185  
 Kuomintang, 237  
 Kushan Empire, 193, 203  
 Kuznetzov, V, 325, 327
- Labour Party (UK), 51  
 Ladakh, 166-167, 169, 173, 175-176, 178, 186, 204, 211-212, 215, 217-

# SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 219, 223, 225, 228, 231, 245, 308,  
311; Eastern, 13; Lamas of, 176-  
177; Muslims in, 176
- Lahaul, 179, 186, 316
- Lahore, 18
- Lall, Diwan Chaman, (SWJN/FS/3/p.  
128), 98, 190, 192
- Lall, K.B., 309
- Lamas, 175, 178
- Lao Haksat Party, 303
- Laos, 1, 13, 15-16, 256-257, 303, 322
- Lapthal, 227, 314
- Le Quesne, 117
- Legal Enquiry Committee on Tibet  
(International Jurists'  
Commission), 248
- Lhasa, 175-177, 207, 215, 223, 237,  
240, 242-243, 245
- Li Kenong, 220
- Littledale, George R., 219
- Lohit Frontier Division, 217, 225
- Lok Sabha, 5, 7-8, 10, 12-13, 15, 24,  
90, 102, 104, 107, 111-113, 121,  
123, 127, 129, 154, 157, 162, 171,  
175, 196, 211, 235, 311
- Lonag, 223
- London, 51-52, 163, 224-225, 292,  
299, 307
- Longju, 8, 10, 187, 189, 194, 200, 203,  
212, 217, 227, 229, 231, 304-306,  
315
- Lopa, 223
- Lowo, 223
- Lu Cheng Hsiang, 166-167
- Lucknow, 131, 144
- Lunik II, 159
- MacArthur, Douglas, 107
- Macdonald, Malcolm, (SWJN/SS/2/p.  
85), 51, 295
- Malcolm, John, 219
- MacMahon (McMahon) Line, 5, 8, 11,  
170-171, 178, 181, 185-186, 189-  
192, 194, 196, 199-204, 211-217,  
220-225, 227, 229-230, 233, 243-  
245, 305-306, 312-315
- McMahon, Henry, 204
- Macmillan, Harold, (SWJN/SS/37/p.  
543), 321-322
- Madhya Pradesh, 4-5
- Madras City, 43, 48, 144
- Madras State, 4, 128-129, 148, 156
- Madurai, 148
- Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, 2
- Mahanty, Surendra, (SWJN/SS/33/p.  
430), 128, 173-174
- Maharashtra, 2-3, 53, 76
- Mahmud, Syed, (SWJN/SS/22/p.  
419), 42, 47
- Malaviya, K. D., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 260),  
145, 153, 308-309
- Malaya, Federation of, 324, 327;  
Government of, 120; Federation  
Army in, 119
- Manchus, 235, 239
- Mandal, 227, 231
- Mandal Congress Committees, 67
- Mao Tse-tung, (SWJN/FS/10/p. 75),  
205
- Mao Zedong, *see* Mao Tse-tung
- Marx, Karl, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 140), 182
- Massachusetts, 151
- Matthai, John, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 101),  
329
- Maurya, Chandragupta, 193; empire  
of, 203



- Meerut, 89
- Mehrotra, Lalji, (SWJN/SS/30/p. 479), 233
- Mehta, Asoka, (SWJN/SS/7/p. 442), 108-109, 111
- Menon, K.P.S., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 326), 159, 213
- Menon, Lakshmi, (SWJN/SS/8/p. 299), 97, 99, 178, 295-296
- Menon, Narayanankutty, 157
- Menon, V.K. Krishna, (SWJN/FS/7/p. 15), 20-22, 103-107, 111-113, 117, 293, 299, 307, 321, 324, 328
- Migyitun, 8, 207, 229, 304-306, 315
- Minicoy, 321
- Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 309
- Ministry of Defence, 2, 22, 102-104, 106, 113, 119, 172, 256
- Ministry of Education, 20
- Ministry of External Affairs, 7, 82, 113, 115, 135, 145, 297, 299, 324
- Ministry of Finance, 248
- Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 141
- Ministry of Health, 153
- Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2
- Ministry of Law, 116, 119
- Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, 248
- Miris, 224
- Mishmi Mission, 225
- Mishmis, 224
- Mishra, Bibhuti, 141
- Mishra, S.N., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 217), 67
- Mitra, D.N., 118-119
- Moga, 14
- Mohiuddin, Ahmed, 141
- Mon, 223
- Monbas, 224
- Monghyr, 14
- Mongolia, Republic of, 218, 239-240, 300-301; Council of Ministers of, 299
- Montgomery, Bernard, L., (SWJN/FS/14/p. 28), 146
- Moscow, 298, 308, 322, 326
- Mountbatten, Edwina, (SWJN/SS/3/p. 43), 288
- Mountbatten, Louis (Lord), (SWJN/FS/13/p. 27), 154, 158, 288
- Mukerjee, H.N., (SWJN/SS/18/p. 335), 93
- Mukharji, P.B., 134
- Mukherjee, Sabyasachi, 134
- Muktsar, 14
- Munich, 210
- Murrow, Edward, (SWJN/SS/42/p. 724), 135
- Muslim League, All India, 79
- Mussoorie, 209
- Mysore, 207
- Naik, Maheswar, 96-97, 99
- Naini Tal, 321
- Naldurgkar, V.S., 210
- Nanda, B.R., 146
- Nanjappa, C., 154, 156
- Narasimhan, C.R., 156
- Nawanagar, Maharaja of, *see* Jadeja, Digvijaysinhji
- Nathu La Pass, 238
- National Cooperative Marketing Federation, 136
- National Development Council, 92, 138, 141

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- National Herald*, 64, 137, 141, 162, 170, 234
- Nauroz, Mohammad, 264
- Naveen Nagar, 55, 64-65, 72, 74
- NEFA, 8, 10, 13, 72-73, 82, 171, 173, 180, 189, 210, 215, 227, 228, 245
- Nehru, B.K., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 283), 160, 324
- Nehru-Noon Agreement, (September 1958), 19, 164
- Nepal, 222, 249, 326; Government of, 249-250
- Netherlands, The, 327
- New Delhi, 7, 29, 40, 144, 299, 330, *see also* Delhi
- New York, 323
- Ngari Khorsum, 220
- Nilang-Jadhang, 227
- Non-Alignment, 28, 265, 285-286
- Noon, Malik Firoz Khan, 322
- North China Daily News*, 220
- Norway, 327
- Ohio 160
- ONGC, 309
- Oxford University Press, 147
- Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah, 149, 266, 268-269, 290, 297-298
- Pakhtoon movement, 26
- Pakistan, 1, 14, 17-19, 113-114, 163-164, 287, 322; Government of, 18; East, 19; Associated Press in, 18, 164
- Pakistan Times*, *The*, 165
- Palam Airport, 26, 100, 102, 162, 165
- Panchen Lama (Lobsang Trinley Lhundrub Chokyi Gyaltsen), (SWJN/SS/29/p. 336), 176
- Panchsheel, 184, 197, 203, 230, 242
- Pandit, Vijaya Lakshmi, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 1), 51, 100, 146-147, 292
- Panikkar, K.M., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 384), 294
- Pangong Lake, 314
- Pant, Apa, (SWJN/SS/8/p. 412), 250
- Pant, G.B., (SWJN/FS/3/p. 106), 3, 44, 49, 53, 76, 82, 89, 116, 118, 121, 125, 134, 329-330
- Parigas, 314
- Paris, 52, 225, 247, 294
- Parliament, 3, 14, 22-23, 51, 55, 61, 100, 113-115, 165, 169-170, 181, 185, 187, 192, 198, 201, 211, 216-217, 230, 253, 325-326; Consultative Committee on External Affairs of, 170; Committee on Official Language of, 125, and its report of, 121
- Paro, 250
- Parsis, 78
- Partap, Raja Mahendra, (SWJN/FS/4/p. 241), 110, 249
- Parthasarathi, G., (SWJN/SS/28/p. 193), 304
- Partition, 41
- Patel, H.M., (SWJN/SS/5/p. 236), 116, 118-119
- Pathet Lao, 303
- Patil, S.D., 141
- Patil, S.K., (SWJN/FS/12/p. 503), 136-137, 141, 143
- Patnaik, U.C., (SWJN/FS/12/p. 492), 114-115
- Pay Commission, Second Central, 115
- Peking, 7, 199, 204, 234, 237-238, 242



- Pemakoe, 223  
 Persepolis, 282-283, 290  
 Peshnagar, 93  
 Pham Van Dong, (SWJN/SS/26/p. 408), 256-257, 303  
 Phnom Penh, 256  
 Pike, Arnold, 219  
 Pillai, N.R., (SWJN/SS/1/p. 598), 145, 324  
 Pimpri, 152  
 Pincus, Gregory, (SWJN/SS/46/p. 516), 151  
 Planning Commission, 57, 61, 138, 323; Sub-Committee of, 56  
 Poona, 53, 82, 152  
 Portugal, 97, 99, 116  
 Prasad, Rajendra, (SWJN/FS/3/p. 4), 82, 163, 268  
 Praja Socialist Party, 2, 22, 79  
 Free Trust of India, 1  
 Public Law 480, 291  
 Pugwash Conference of International Scientists on Biological and Chemical Warfare, 160  
 Pulingsumdo, 314  
 Punjab, 14, 56, 62, 79, 83, 179, 186, 203, 212, 219-220, 231, 245, 311, 316; Government of, 52, 87, 172  
 Punjabi Suba, 62  
 Punjab-Spiti border, 171  
 Puri, K.R., 330  
  
 Qadir, Manzur, 162  
 Quran, 149  
 Qutab Minar, 18  
  
 Rabindra Sadan, 149  
 Radhakrishnan, S., (SWJN/FS/4/p. 564), 97, 148-149, 294  
 Rai, Khushwaqt, 157  
 Raina, B.L., 151  
 Raj Bhavan, Chandigarh, 85, 88  
 Raja, S.T., 152  
 Rajabhoj, P.N., (SWJN/SS/42/p. 270), 247  
 Rajagopalachari, C., (SWJN/FS/1/p. 350), 58  
 Rajamani, N., 1  
 Rajasthan, 53, 82, 88; Government of, 157  
 Rajkot, 78  
 Rajya Sabha, 5, 9, 11, 96, 154, 166, 181, 247, 253, 294-295  
 Ram, Jagjivan, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 295), 136, 144  
 Ram, K., 151, 180, 247  
 Ramachandran, G., (SWJN/SS/39/p. 382), 148  
 Ramadhyani, R.K., (SWJN/SS/44/p. 338), 2  
 Ranga, N.G., (SWJN/FS/7/p. 534), 107-109  
 Rangoon, 233  
 Rao, K.B., 116, 119  
 Rarewala, Gian Singh, (SWJN/SS/24/p. 299), 85-87  
 Ray, Renuka, (SWJN/SS/11/p. 168), 206  
 Reddy, K. C., (SWJN/FS/8/p. 566), 152, 161  
 Reddy, Nagi, T., 92-93  
 Reddi, O. Pulla, 120  
 Reddy, Viswanatha, 123  
 Reddy, Yashoda, 296  
 Rockefeller, John D., 158  
 Rolin, Maitre, 117

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Roy, B.C., (SWJN/FS/4/p. 230), 92-94, 96, 138, 161
- Roy, Subodh Kumar, 143
- Rumania, 154, 158
- Russia (Imperial), 192, 236
- Russian Revolution, 274
- State Trading Corporation, 139
- Sadi, Sheikh, 283
- Sadiya Frontier Tract, 224
- Sadr, Madame, 268
- Sahay, Vishnu, (SWJN/SS/11/p. 142), 82, 115-116, 153
- Sahib, Siri Khalsaji, 218
- Sahitya Akademi, 282
- Said, Maulana Ahmed, (SWJN/SS/4/p. 221), 149
- Sailo, L. R., 9
- Sampurnanand, (SWJN/FS/2/p. 143), 88-89, 179, 316
- Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, 2, 94
- Sang, 312, 314
- Sangcha, 227, 314
- Santiniketan, 149-150
- Sapru, Tej Bahadur, (SWJN/FS/1/p. 105), 182
- Sananikone, Phoui, 303
- Saurashtra, 155
- Sayul, 223
- Schwieger, Peter, 9
- Se La, 171
- Sen, Asoke K., (SWJN/SS/41/p. 761), 85-87, 89, 116, 150
- Setalvad, M.C., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 86), 116-118, 248
- Shah, Mohammad Zahir, 257, 265
- Shahab, Quadratullah, 165
- Shaikh, K.M., 19
- Shanghai, 207-208, 220
- Shankar's International Children's Competition, 148
- Sharma, D.C., (SWJN/SS/27/p. 384), 154-155
- Shastri, Lal Bahadur, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 164), 79, 89, 139
- Shastri, Prakash Vir, 90, 123
- Shatze, 315
- Shaw, Robert, 219
- Shawcross, Hartley, 248
- Shillong, 213
- Shipki La Pass, 204, 227, 314
- Shiraz (Tehran), 282, 290
- Shirazi, Mohammad Hafiz, 283
- Shiv Charan, 78
- Shrewsbury, 151
- Shrinagesh, S.M., (SWJN/SS/30/p. 531), 82, 329-330
- Sibsagar, 308
- Siddiq, Mohammed, 263
- Shigatse, 176
- Sikkim, 14-15, 100, 166-167, 206, 215, 223, 226, 228, 237, 253, 313; State Congress of, 100
- Simla, 30, 35, 225
- Simla Conference, 222-225, 229, 312
- Singh, Braj Raj, 108, 121, 164, 174, 177-178, 205
- Singh, D.P., 115
- Singh, Jaswant, 169
- Singh, Gulab, 245
- Singh, Ram Subhag, (SWJN/SS/29/p. 97), 177, 197-198, 202, 204, 206-207, 244
- Singh, Hukam, (SWJN/SS/16pt.II/p. 531), 174-175, 178, 196, 235
- Singh, Sardar Swaran, (SWJN/SS/4/



- p. 41), 19, 145  
 Singh, Karni, 197  
 Sinha, B.K.P., 99, 295-296  
 Sinha, Ganga Sharan, 166-169  
 Sinkiang, 186, 219, 310-311, 314  
 Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954, *see*  
 Trade Agreement  
 Sirhind, 85  
 Skyid-Ida-ngeema-gon, 218  
 Slocum, Harvey, (SWJN/SS/24/p.  
 145), 83  
 Socialism, 45, 63, 68, 71, 274  
 Socialist Party, 205  
 Sokon, Kalon, 218  
 Sokpo, 218  
 Soskice, Frank, (SWJN/SS/34/p. 229),  
 117-118  
 Soundram, T.S., 148  
 South Africa, 325  
 Spanggur, 217, 227-228, 231  
 Spiti, 172, 186, 227  
 Sri Prakasa, (SWJN/FS/2/p. 203), 76,  
 78-89  
 Srinagar, 53  
 Stanford, Edward, 220, 225, 307  
 States Reorganisation Commission,  
 Report of, 2  
*Statesman, The*, 100, 176, 237  
 Strachey, John, (SWJN/FS/5/p. 476),  
 219  
*Straits Times, The*, 119  
 Subansari Division, 8, 173, 189, 202  
 Suisa, Rungsung, 81  
 Supakar, S., 162, 164  
 Supreme Court of India, 134  
 Swatantra Party, 58  
 Tagore, Rabindranath, (SWJN/SS/31/  
 p. 109), 149-150  
 Taj Mahal, 269  
 Tamaden, 212-213, 304, 306, 315  
 Tangamani, K.T.K., (SWJN/SS/40/p.  
 450), 154, 156-157  
 Tashi Lhempo, 176  
 TASS (Telegrafnoe Agentsvo  
 Sovetskogo Soiuza), 12-13  
 Tawang, 171  
 Tehran, 11, 55, 213, 266, 281, 285,  
 288-289, 297; University of, 269  
 Thacker, M.S., (SWJN/SS/29/p. 141),  
 180  
 Thero, Mapitigama Bhddharakhita,  
 302  
 Thero, Somarama, 302  
 Thimayya, K.S., (SWJN/SS/4/p. 13),  
 20, 23, 100, 102-105, 107-108,  
 112-113, 213  
 Thimpu, 250  
 Tibet, 5, 7, 8-10, 12, 23-24, 82, 120,  
 167, 169, 171, 175-176, 179, 184-  
 186, 192-194, 196, 204-205, 207,  
 209-210, 212-213, 215-220, 222-  
 226, 228-229, 232, 235-236, 238-  
 241, 243, 245-246, 248-249, 251,  
 253-254, 278, 286, 293, 305, 309-  
 315, 325-328; Government of,  
 207, 223, 237  
 Tibetan Treaty, 168  
*Times of India, The*, 2, 12, 27, 53, 79,  
 83, 97, 99, 196, 262, 264  
*Times, The* (London), 171, 180  
 Tory, 322  
 Trade Agreement between India and  
 China in regard to Tibet Region  
 (1954), 73, 192, 220  
*Tribune, The*, 1, 8, 14, 25, 53, 82-83,  
 85-86, 144, 232

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- Tricumdas, Purushottam, (SWJN/FS/15/p. 530), 248-249
- Tripathi, Kamlapati, (SWJN/FS/12/p. 556), 88-89
- Tripura, 19
- Trivedi, C.M., (SWJN/SS/3/p. 5), 323
- Trombay, 155, 157
- Truman, H.S., (SWJN/FS/15/p. 297), 107
- Tsaparang Dzong, 312
- Tsari Sarpa, 229
- Tsedenbal, Yumjagiin, 96, 299
- Tso Karpo, 229
- Tsu Khainche, 176
- Tsungsha, 312, 314
- Tundla, 144
- Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, (SWJN/SS/38/p. 739), 19
- Turkestan (Chinese), 180, 311
- Twynam, Henry, 171, 180
- Udaipur, 157
- UK (United Kingdom), 16, 67, 51, 71, 116-117, 133, 147, 154, 158, 192, 222, 236-237, 239, 257, 271, 274-278, 290-291, 295-296, 325, 328; Geological Survey of, 307; Government of, 13, 51, 72, 164, 218-219, 223-224, 295-296, 311-312; High Commission of, 51; Parliament of, 296
- UN (United Nations), 16, 23-24, 111, 113, 194, 196, 232, 237-238, 246, 286, 293, 323; General Assembly of, 111, 196, 237, 246, 293; Security Council of, 15-16, 238, 246, 256-257, 322; Charter of the Human Rights Declaration of, 24
- United Nations Special Fund, 299
- U Nu, (SWJN/SS/4/p. 452), 190, 231
- United States and the European Atomic Energy Community, 160
- United States' Atomic Energy Commission, 159, 323
- United States Bureau of Reclamation, 83
- United States-Euratom agreement, 160
- United States National Catholic Relief Fund, 78
- USA (United States of America), 27, 40, 45, 63, 65, 67, 71, 83, 151, 154, 158, 199, 237, 239-240, 263-265, 267, 271-272, 275-278, 284, 288, 290, 292, 297-298, 303, 322, 324-325; Government of, 291, 323; Food and Drug Administration of, 151
- USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), 9, 16, 27, 62-63, 145, 154, 158-159, 199, 233, 236-237, 240, 257, 263-265, 275-276, 278, 290, 292, 297-299, 308, 321-322; communism in, 9, 63; Government of, 12, 145, 208, 232-233, 297-298, 309, 326
- Uttar Pradesh, 13, 18, 88, 120, 141, 179, 186, 200, 203, 212, 226
- Vajpayee, A.B., (SWJN/SS/41/p. 641), 108, 164, 173-174, 178, 235, 238
- Valanjambalam, 170
- Varanasi, 89, 144
- Vidarbha, 53
- Vira, Raghu, (SWJN/SS/9/108), 124, 130
- Vietnam, Democratic Republic of, 303



- Visva-Bharati, 149, 150  
 Vyas, Jai Narain, (SWJN/FS/8/p. 546),  
     88  
 Waldock, 117  
 Walker, John, 219-220, 311  
 Walong, 223  
 Wangchuk, Jigme Dorji, (SWJN/SS/  
     24/p. 592), 250-252, 255  
 Washington, 135, 160, 323, 327  
 Welby, M.C., 219  
 West Bengal, 19, 56, 90-92, 94-95,  
     250; Assembly of, 28-29, 55-56;  
     Government of, 90, 95; Security  
     Act of, 94  
 West Berlin, 321  
 West Germany, 321  
 West Indies, 151  
 Western Europe, 271, 278  
 Western Himalayas, 219, 311  
 Western Russia, 274  
 Weston, Abe, 135  
*White Paper I* (see Glossary), 7, 168-  
     169, 171-173, 179, 183, 201, 213,  
     233, 243  
*White Paper II* (see Glossary), 181,  
     187, 191, 196, 205, 207, 216, 232,  
     304, 309  
 Wolverhampton, 296  
 Worcester Foundation for  
     Experimental Biology, 151  
 World Bank (IBRD), 163  
 World Veterans Federation, 247  
 Wu-je (Barahoti), 314  
 Yajnik, Indulal K., (SWJN/SS/38/p.  
     356), 2  
 Yarkand, 167  
 Yarkhim, 223  
 Yashar, 315  
 Yatung, 232, 242-243  
 Yehchong, 186  
 Younghusband, Francis, (SWJN/SS/  
     43/p. 441), 225  
 Zetterstrom, Arne, 319  
 Ziauddin, Mian, 162  
 Zhou En-lai, see Chou En-lai  
 Zutshi, L., 307-308

